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Civil War and Rebellion in the Roman Empire

The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian

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The Great War between Athens and Sparta

Merton College Oxford

A Better Country, and Other Imaginations

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FIVE ROMAN EMPERORS:

VESPASIAN · TITUS
DOMITIAN · NERVA · TRAJAN
A.D. 69–117

by

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To

the memory of

HENRY FRANCIS PELHAM

Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, Oxford.
Camden Professor of Ancient History in
the University of Oxford. President
of Trinity College, Oxford

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PREFACE

Thirty-one years ago, on February 16, 1896, Professor Lanciani in Rome, with his wonted generous enthusiasm, encouraged a young Oxford visitor, then but recently elected to one of those Prize Fellowships which our latest University Commission has abolished, in his half-formed project of studying the Principate of Trajan. Tutorial duties quickly supervening upon the return to Oxford delayed the plan.

Some years later again, when I laid it before the greatest of our Camden Professors, the latter (so I misinterpreted him) gave me to understand that a work of his own upon the period from Vespasian to Trajan was already well upon the road to completion. Professor Pelham directed my attention to Hadrian instead. The charge thus laid upon me I executed recently to the best of my ability. Meanwhile, at Pelham's death—how much too early!—nothing, I believe, was found in MS. of his intended history of the early Principate. As with Mommsen, as with Greenidge, so with Pelham, the hope of writing the history of the earlier centuries of our era was frustrate.

This book of mine, the fourth in the order of writing, the third in chronological sequence of the subject matter, completes my own attempt to describe some main historical aspects and characters of the period of Roman history from the birth of Nero to the death of Hadrian. For its foundation at least it rests upon my notes of two series of lectures delivered by Professor Pelham himself at Oxford in the two consecutive Hilary Terms of 1902 and 1903. Those few of my Oxford contemporaries who also were present at those superb lectures and who may read this book will realise the extent of my indebtedness to the Master. To his memory I may at least fitly dedicate this, the completion of the work of the leisure intervals of many years.

I have not how attempted to include every subject suggested by the history of the period. Although in a sense this book may be regarded as my last protest against the modern tendency to exclude all personalities (and life therewith) from the writing of

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Ancient History, much which might have embellished it is omitted. There may also seem a certain disproportion between the large amount of space devoted to wars and frontiers and the small use made of that treasure house of biographical detail and piquant scandal found in the pages of Suetonius for the three Flavian Princes. But Suetonius, in these days of the Loeb Library and Tudor reprints, is open to all. The tale of wars and frontiers is buried in and overwhelmed by the gigantic masses of Teutonic periodical and monograph which are by no means so easily accessible at least to our English undergraduates, for whose sake chiefly (if any indeed do me the honour to peruse it) I write this book.

It is partly, but not wholly, due to this same consideration of "accessibility" that I plead guilty to one conscious cowardice in the somewhat brief and jejune treatment of "Agricola in Britain." Mr J. G. C. Anderson and Mr R. G. Collingwood might indeed claim this subject for their own, and every student easily obtains and enjoys their various books and papers. Roman Britain is indeed the happiest hunting ground for the true expert. By a slightly unhappy legacy of recent tradition, trespassers are apt to be violently prosecuted by less friendly critics. I have hurried as cautiously as I may over this special field though it lies within the circuit of my desired country, fearing to challenge the thunderbolts of innumerable Joves. Mark Pattison's words may be recalled—I would that even critics would at times recall them—"Research is always incomplete... the last word on the subject is never spoken."

Certainly it is never spoken in Germany. Two vast monographs, both of date 1926, came into my hands when this book was already in page proof, those of E. Fabricius upon the Odenwald section of the German *Limes* and K. Lehmann-Hartleben upon the Trajan Column. To these I have done, I trust, such justice as space and the patient long-suffering of the Cambridge University Press have permitted[1].

To that Press I must pay most sincere thanks, not only to its readers and printers for their care, but also to its Syndics

[1] But I discovered F. Hertlein's paper "Die Entstehung des Dekumatlandes" (ap. *Klio*, XXI (1926), pp. 20–43) too late for any use.

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for the acceptance of this book. During the last five months of the war I found myself quartered in Christ's College on military service in the Army, a "miles metoecus," an "inquilinus" in the University. The affection which I then conceived for that most beautiful College and for the "sister University" is now still more reinforced by the hospitality extended at Cambridge to this book. And I have besides one particular "Cambridge" obligation of thanks to express to Mr W. E. Heitland for his kind and valuable criticisms of this book in MS. These led to the almost complete rewriting of two of its chapters as well as to other amendments elsewhere. He is not responsible, of course, for any of the actual views advanced in the book in its revised form, from some of which indeed he might, I think, dissent, but no criticisms could have been more helpful to me than were his.

Finally, my thanks are due to my former pupil, Mr J. P. V. D. Balsdon, Tutor of Keble College, for reading the book in proof and for certain corrections and useful suggestions. One of the pleasantest thoughts which haunt me after more than thirty years of the teaching of Ancient History in Oxford is that among my many pupils there are those who retain a real love for the subject.

BERNARD W. HENDERSON

Exeter College, Oxford
June 1927

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(From *Der Obergermanisch-Raetische Limes des Roemerreiches*, hrsg. von E. Fabricius. Leipzig, 1927: Otto Petters Verlag.)

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Roman Empire around 69-117 A.D., maps from Google Images.

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CHAPTER I

THE THREE FLAVIAN PRINCES

§ 1 The lessons of the past. § 2 Vespasian. § 3 Titus. § 4 Domitian.

§ 1. *The lessons of the past.*

UPON the death of Nero on June 9, A.D. 68, the first line of Roman Emperors, that of the "Julio-Claudian" House, became extinct. Whatever the demerit of its Princes may have been, their continuity of descent at least preserved the Roman Empire from the horrors of civil war. No single Prince among them but had endured conspiracies against his rule. Yet the very nature of the constitution devised by the wisdom of Augustus, known as the "dyarchy" since Mommsen so labelled it, in itself discounted beforehand the likelihood of success in the plots against his successors. A naked despotism would have been more instantly provocative of rebellion. All the conspiracies had thus been suppressed without any great disturbance of the public peace.

But Nero's death left the field clear for the contending of rival and equal ambitions, no one of which enjoyed any title to victory other than that given by some superiority in resources or in intelligence. The ensuing "civil wars" of the years A.D. 68 and 69 were the unhappy consequence of such rivalries. Ignorant armies clashed together and fought, gallantly enough, each to place its own pet general upon the throne.

Happily, save in the ranks of those armies themselves, neither the loss of life nor the concurrent misery can have been very great except in the homeland, Italy, herself. For here the march of the rival armies from the north to Rome cut a red swathe through the fields which time and peace alone in due course could hide. Elsewhere, the sailors of Otho's useless fleet may land at Ventimiglia to ravage the Riviera countryside, to sack the villa of an estimable matron, Agricola's mother, and do her, in her son's absence, to death. But on the track of the troops not only a whole town, like hapless Aquileia, may experience the brutality and license of the army passing through

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its streets, but burning farmsteads and blackened fields showed the line of march and rapine for many a long mile through Italy, and the grim savageries of the sack of rose-red Cremona found their counterpart within the walls of Rome herself. After a century of peace, the demon of war was loosed again on Italy.

The inhabitants of the wide lands of the Empire looked on in amazement and alarm. Themselves for the most part untroubled by the sword, enjoying, despite the raging of the civil war, such a precarious tranquillity as the folk of the countryside of England during the Wars of the Roses or the struggle of Puritan with Cavalier, they could but wait to see the outcome of the struggle between the professional armies and pray for some speedy ending of the contest. One part only of the Empire sought to take advantage of the turmoil to cut loose from what it deemed fondly to be the sinking ship of the majesty of Rome. When the ship of State under a new captain proved herself still seaworthy, the deserters were speedily haled once more aboard and constrained again to take their part in the navigation of the vessel. To their material, to their intellectual profit, probably also to their own secret satisfaction, recalcitrant Gauls and Germans soon found themselves sailing once more under the old colours of Rome. The nationalists of Gaul, the mutineers of the Rhine, had agreed but ill together during the few stormy months of their boasted independence. When once a strong stable Government was restored in the Imperial City, both Roman Gaul and Roman Germany settled down placably within the bounds of the Empire.[1]

Yet the eighteen months of civil war[2] and the risings in Gaul and Germany, if they had shown unmistakably how strong were the foundations upon which the far-sighted sagacity of Augustus had built once more the unity of the Empire, had also revealed very clearly to the rulers of the new age certain paths in which they must henceforth walk if they would avoid like perils in the future. No Prince could ever again afford to neglect, as the foolish Nero had neglected, the army and its organisation, the

[1] I have written of this period in my *Civil War and Rebellion in the Roman Empire.*

[2] Nero died on June 9, A.D. 68, Vitellius on Dec. 20, A.D. 69.

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welfare, desires, and contentment of the troops. Though the Roman army was but an inconsiderable fragment of the entire population, yet there now always existed a militarist peril, and the more insistently as the Central Government took upon itself ever more obviously the shape of a personal Absolute Monarchy, that ill-omened shape which Augustus had been so careful to disguise.[1] There was also henceforward the clearest need for dynastic plans and forethought concerning the succession to the Imperial throne. And it is not without significance that it was adoption rather than inheritance by legitimacy which gave Rome her wisest Princes for a century to come. Although the younger at least of Vespasian's two sons, albeit a sinister figure, rendered some notable services to Rome, the spendthrift son of the philosopher-king Marcus Aurelius is a signal example of the essential weakness of an hereditary Absolute Monarchy. The intervening Princes, from Trajan to Marcus Aurelius himself, owed their power to the other, the adoptive, principle. But, save in Hadrian's case alone, the intended successor was made known to the Roman world openly before the reigning Emperor's death, and no man dared by force of arms challenge his right to rule.

Such were two of the lessons derived from the civil wars of A.D. 68–69. More immediately, the bloodshed and miseries of these terrible eighteen months had left behind them a legacy of rancour and unrest and, besides, a veritable peril of bankruptcy, so far as the finances of the State itself were concerned. It is true that in those still fortunate days of slow communications, agricultural life, peasant labour, civic prosperity and pride, and local self-sufficiency, the millions of Rome's Empire went their way for the most part undisturbed by the perturbations of the Capital city. They cared very little who was Emperor at Rome provided that the representatives of the Central Government abroad were men of sound temper, just, honourable, sagacious, fair-dealing. To the undying credit of the Roman name, the Roman provincial governor, under and possibly largely by reason of careful Imperial supervision, seldom failed to be a man of this type. Yet, sooner or later, distress and

[1] See next chapter.

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poverty in the Capital must react even on the most distant quarter of the Empire. And now, at the end of A.D. 69, the Imperial Exchequer stood empty. There was the most urgent need for that period of economy and reconstruction which a great war—how well does not the world know this today?—enforces, if rulers have determination enough to apply the lesson and if the common folk possess wit enough to understand it. Now once again, as on the morrow of the battle of Actium a hundred years before, the weary shattered State cried out for peace, retrenchment, and wise tending. And once again, in this renewed crisis of her fate, Rome found her Fortune stedfast to preserve her. A second Augustus was granted by the Fates to Rome in the person of the "Founder of the Flavian dynasty." Less imperial, less glorious and stately of person, and with little of that princely glamour which encompasses the memory of his great predecessor, the plain, heavy, homely bourgeois Vespasian, of old rugged Sabine farmer stock who spoke his native Latin with a peasant's accent,[1] earns the thanks of the Senate of History for not despairing of the State. Italy, happiest of ancient lands, once again earned her right to her immortal poet's praise:

> Salve, magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus,
> Magna virum.

§ 2. *Vespasian.*

Vespasian's military fame and merits had given him the ultimate victory over his rivals. But the virtues which restored the shaken State were not military, but those of shrewd insight and thrifty commonsense.

Born on November 17, A.D. 9, he was already past the prime of life when, in the latter part of the year A.D. 70, he entered Rome as Emperor, more than a year after the troops in Egypt, on July 1, A.D. 69, had first taken the oath of allegiance to him. He died on June 23, A.D. 79, on the threshold of old age. Except for the successful ending of the Jewish revolt and its spectacular celebration by his son Titus, conqueror of Jerusalem, no note-

[1] A. von Domaszewski, *Gesch. der röm. Kaiser*, II, p. 146.

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worthy event abroad during his ten years of rule elicited the praise of contemporary writers. But that rule and the old Emperor's length of years were justified by sagacious administration. It is the younger politicians who, reckless alike of treasure and of life, earn cheap applause. Gibbon, following Suetonius, reproaches Vespasian for a "strict and even sordid parsimony." It was just this thrift which rescued Rome from bankruptcy. At the very beginning of his Principate he announced openly that there was need of forty thousand million sesterces (about £320,000,000) "to set the State upright again." By increasing taxation and public sources of income, by State trading, by the unashamed sale of offices (if the critic's tale be true), and by a strict supervision of expenditure, he was able not only to restore financial equilibrium but also to accumulate funds which he spent generously upon objects desirable or grandiose. Thus the building of the Coliseum of Rome, the "Flavium amphitheatrum," upon the site of the lake in the gardens of Nero's "Golden House," a monster structure which held 87,000 spectators, was begun by him and finished by Titus in the year after his father's death. It has perpetuated his fame, but at least it also bore witness to the success of his finance. "Magnum vectigal parcimonia." Latin can put in a phrase the wisdom and the experience of centuries. Even the critic Suetonius himself admits grudgingly that "the monie by him ill gotten, hee used and bestowed passing well."[1] All this may indeed reveal "a merit rather useful than shining," in Gibbon's words. But what Rome needed was sense and not glitter. Or, as a German writer aptly puts it,[2] the times required "nicht Phantasieen, sondern nüchterne Klarheit und strenge Pflichttreue." As the Capitol itself rose in fresh glory from its ashes, so the legend "Roma resurgens" on Vespasian's coins had a still wider justification. "A faithful follower of the policy of Augustus, he, like his exemplar, sought for peace and ensued it."[3]

In disposition he was magnanimous. "From the very first beginning of his Empire unto the end, hee was curteous

[1] Philemon Holland's version, which I use constantly. See note, p. 24.

[2] Schiller, *Gesch. der röm. Kaiserzeit* (Gotha, 1883), I, 2, § 54, p. 517.

[3] Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1926), who gives a brilliant sketch of Vespasian's policy (pp. 101–105).

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enough and full of Clemencie." Even "the unmannerly rudenesse of Philosophers hee tooke most mildly."

Demetrius the Cynicke meeting him in the way after hee was come to his Soveraigne dignitie, and not deigning once to rise up nor to salute him, but rather barking at him I wote not what, he thought it enough to call Cur-dogge.

In earlier days when he was in disgrace at Nero's Court, one of that Emperor's ushers had thrust him out of doors, bidding him "Go to Hell." "When this fellow afterwards came to aske forgivenesse, he proceeded no further in heat of anger but to wordes only." "Oh, go to Hell," said Vespasian. And the ex-lackey retired, otherwise unhurt.

Indeed, tales concerning the old Emperor are plentiful enough, and Suetonius' *Life of Vespasian* is a rich banquet of stories. Blunt in speech himself, he was good-humouredly tolerant of plain speaking. His love of slang shocked the urbane, just as some sources of his revenue offended the fastidious Titus. His *mot*, "non olet" of the penny, symbol of one unsavoury tax, is notorious. Coarse jests were his delight. Yet he was anything but illiterate, and he was always ready with an apt Greek quotation. Of Sabine farmer stock, from the neighbourhood of the little upland city of Reate, he was proud of his humble origin, and mocked openly at flatterers who sought to deduce for his family some noble and high-sounding descent. His boyish ambition had been to follow the trade of a money-lender. And the man always preserved the instincts of the child, a shrewd sense of the value of money.

When hee asked the Procuratours openly, what the charges might bee of his funerall and the pompe thereto belonging, no sooner hearde he that it would arise to tenne Millenes of Sesterces, but hee cried, "Give mee one hundred thousand, and make no more adoe but throw mee into Tiber."

Rumours of plots against his life moved him as little as had done the turnips which in earlier days flew round his head when, as governor of Africa, he came to quell a riot at Hadrumetum. Few Romans are in their way more homely or attractive than is this sturdy soldier, with lined and rugged countenance

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and twinkling eyes, "a genuinely Italian figure."[1] He deserved his "deification" upon his death, if any of the more immediate successors of Augustus merited this customary honour, and deserved it not least by the most famous of his many quips, as he lay dying.

And not so much as in the feare and extreme perill of death forbare he skoffing. For when as among other prodigious signes the Mausoleum of the Caesars opened sodainely, and a blazing starre appeared: the one of them, he sayde, did concerne Junia Calvina a gentlewoman of Augustus (Caesar's) race (whereas himself was not of that line): the other had reference to the King of the Parthians, who ware his haire long. In the very first accesse also and fit of his disease, "Me thinkes," quoth he, "I am a deifying"—"Vae, inquit, puto, deus fio."

So on a day in June at the old farmstead near his birthplace, where he delighted to spend the summer of each year, he lay ill in bed, yet giving audience in affairs of State as he lay. A sudden attack seized him so that he almost swooned. "An Emperor should die standing," he gasped. As he struggled to his feet, in the arms of his attendants he passed away, and Titus his son reigned in his stead.

§ 3. *Titus.*

Economy is never a popular virtue, and Titus, the elder of the two sons of Vespasian, wooed and won popularity. Handsome, magnificent, valorous, he had many manly virtues. Born on December 30, A.D. 39,[2] he came to the throne, a man nearly forty years of age, with a mixed reputation. He had seen much military service in distant provinces of the Empire, in Germany, in Britain, and, notably, in Judaea. At the fall of Jerusalem he had with his own hand slain twelve of the enemy, and wasted no single arrow in the feat. The arts of peace, music, literature, and verse-making were his delight, and he was pleased to rival his own secretaries in the humbler practice of shorthand. Yet men told gloomy tales of his cruelty, his treachery, his libertinism. Their apprehensions were disappointed when "the second Nero," on succeeding to his father, so won all men's

[1] Pelham.

[2] Not A.D. 41 as Suetonius (wrongly). Cf. *Prosop. Imp. Rom.* II, p. 79.

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hearts by his *bonhomie* that Rome hailed him as "amor ac deliciae generis humani," "Mankind's darling pet."

We may indeed think kindly of the boy playmate of the little doomed prince Britannicus, whose fate at Nero's hands he himself hardly escaped, and whose memory he always cherished.[1] We may take pleasure in the picture of the strong and handsome lad who "could both sing and also play upon instruments sweetly and with knowledge." Yet in his maturity Titus is no David, Prince of Israel. Attempts to depict him as the gallant cavalier, the Bayard of Rome, somewhat miss the mark. His Age was not an Age of chivalry, but a hard plain time when the wise ruler's chief aim was "to make both ends meet." This wisdom Titus lacked. True it may be that he showed himself a pattern of good behaviour when he became Emperor and sent Queen Berenice weeping away. So he "freed Rome from the danger of a second Cleopatra."[2] Yet his were never the attractive revels of gay young Harry Plantagenet, and no military glories adorned the short reign of the sobered Roman Prince, when, a man nearing the half-way house of life, he laid his grosser faults aside. Buildings, games, wild-beast shows (five thousand animals slaughtered on a single day), the condescending Prince admitting the vulgar mob to share with him the delights of his sumptuous new baths—all befit Titus the magnificent, and serve the State finances but sorrily. Even his famous lament at supper on a day when his lavish generosity had failed to find a single recipient, "My friends, I have lost a day," has an uncomfortable Chadband-taste about it.

And fortune dealt hardly with the darling of the world. Disaster followed disaster. The eruption of Vesuvius on August 24, A.D. 79, buried Pompeii and Herculaneum, and its accompanying earthquakes laid many another small Campanian town in ruins. A serious conflagration raged in Rome. A woeful and strangely malignant pestilence swept victims helplessly away. For all these evils Titus strove to find such remedies as the wealth and the ignorance of his times might supply. When, after twenty-six short months of rule, he died, complaining

[1] See my *Nero*, p. 66.
[2] Von Domaszewski, *op. cit.* II, p. 155.

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bitterly, of an ague, at the family homestead near Reate on September 13, A.D. 81, he passed away, says his biographer somewhat ineptly, "to men's greater hurt than was his own." Longer rule might have supplied opportunities for greater glory, but the Latin writer took a more pessimistic view of the chances of life.

The one real service rendered by Titus to the State was done by him before his father's death, and he did but complete a work which Vespasian's military skill had successfully begun while Nero was still Emperor at Rome.[1] The quelling of the revolt in Judaea and the capture of the almost impregnable fortress city of Jerusalem bestowed half a century of peace upon this inaccessible corner of the Roman world. This was pure gain, and even the Jewish unrest which so gravely troubled the last few months of Trajan's life was rife among the Jews of the Dispersion and was not shared by the inhabitants of the homeland.[2] The snake, it is true, was scotched and not killed, and Jewish nationalism blazed out again in savage frenzy for Hadrian sternly to crush it in the furious war of A.D. 132–135.[3] But Titus' capture of Jerusalem in September A.D. 70 and his stern vengeance on the fanatics bestowed many years of peace upon an unhappy little land. The destruction of the Temple incidentally liberated Christianity from the gravest peril which still threatened the diffusion of the new religion, releasing it in its youthful years from shackles by which its straiter Jewish adherents, defiant of the memory of the Apostle of the Gentiles, sought to fetter and impede its growth. The small Christian community of Jerusalem which, early in A.D. 68, had fled to Pella six years later broke up, and the Greek rather than the Jew is henceforward standard-bearer for the Gospel Army. This, the most important, result of Titus' victory was hidden from the Jewish historian whose lively record describes at such huge length the agony of the besieged city, and, of course, was no part of the Roman's plans. Titus was indeed an unconscious instrument of Christianity. The Arch of Titus in the Roman

[1] See my *Nero*, pp. 372–376.
[2] See my *Hadrian*, p. 34, and below, chapter XII, § 6.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 215–221.

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Forum happily commemorated in lasting form the ending of a worrying bit of military business and glorified the name of the vainglorious conqueror. That his fame rests largely upon his services to a miserable, despised, and recently persecuted sect of Jewish dissenters is an irony of history which might well have puzzled the Roman's own limited intelligence.

So Titus crushed the Jews. Henceforward, in their own Holy Land and abroad, they must burrow underground for many a long year like destructive moldwarps, so pertinaciously that presently Trajan, the greatest of Roman soldiers, found the ground, honeycombed by disaffection and religious malignancy, give way beneath his tread.

Titus died in the very vigour of manhood, aged but forty-one years. "Amid this blessed course of life cut short he was," writes the Tudor physician picturesquely, translating Suetonius' bald Latin.[1] Of the two brothers, the younger, the tall, red-faced, short-sighted Domitian, was the stronger man of the two. The upper classes of Roman society knew it and trembled. They mourned unaffectedly for Titus.

All men throughout the Citie mourned no lesse than in some domesticall occasion of Sorow and Lamentation: the Senate, before they were summoned and called together by any Edict, ranne to the *Curia*, finding as yet the dores fast locked: but when they were set open, they rendred unto him now dead so much thanks, and heaped upon him so great a measure of praises, as they never did before, at any time, whiles he was living and present among them.

There remains one curious and yet unsolved puzzle concerning Titus. When the fatal ague seized him and he was being borne in a litter to Reate, there to die,

it is said that, putting by the Curtaines of the windowe, hee looked up to heaven, and complained very piteously that his life should be taken from him who had not deserved to die: for there was no fact of his extant, of which hee was to repent, save onely one.

The sure interpretation of this solitary "factum poenitendum" has always baffled writers. The Princess Domitia, his brother's wife, suspected of amorous dalliance with the Emperor, hotly denied the scandal. "Had it been true," writes the biographer,

[1] "Inter haec morte praeventus est."

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"she would undoubtedly have boasted of it rather, as she did of all her nasty ways." Suetonius mentions men's suspicion that after the fall of Jerusalem Titus had thoughts of setting himself up as an independent ruler, reigning from Alexandria.[1] This old idea of Mark Antony came a second time to nothing, since Vespasian skilfully associated his son with him as partner in his rule at Rome, or enabled him to pose as such. But such intended treason to his father, if the tale be true, was not likely to prick the dying Prince's tender conscience ten years later. Hadrian believed that Titus actually poisoned Vespasian.[2] Contrition for this crime might endure, but the tale is an unlikely one of ancient scandal. A second such tale is that Titus was mourning for allowing Domitian to survive him. "Solita odia fratrum!" So fratricide becomes, in the Imperial House, a virtue, and to spare a younger brother's life is made a sin of omission, worthy of repentance. Finally, a German,[3] author of a foolish monograph dedicated with cringing flattery to the Sultan Abdul Hamid of infamous memory, suggests that it was the destruction of Jerusalem which filled the fainting Emperor with remorse. Any other explanation had suited the Turk better.

Titus carried his secret with him to the grave.

§ 4. *Domitian.*

Domitian, the younger of Vespasian's two sons, was born on October 24, A.D. 51. He was thus not quite thirty years of age when, on Titus' death on September 13, A.D. 81, he succeeded to the Imperial power. No man said him nay. But it was in an atmosphere of mourning and gloom that he became Emperor, and this clung round the Prince to the very end of his fifteen years of rule, deepening as the years passed by.

Imperious, suspicious, and with a curious streak of cruelty mingled with superstition in his nature, Domitian has never earned any man's love and has found few indeed to praise him.[4]

[1] *Titus*, 4.

[2] See my *Hadrian*, p. 274. Von Domaszewski, *op. cit.* II, p. 148, takes a far more kindly view of the relations of Titus with his father, to whom the son was "an indispensable help."

[3] Bruno Wolff-Beckh, *Kaiser Titus und der Jüdische Krieg* (Berlin, 1905).

[4] e.g. recently Von Domaszewski makes a savage attack upon the "gruesome tyrant," *op. cit.* II, pp. 158–167.

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From boyhood upwards there had burned beneath his enforced repression of self a veritable furnace of ambition and passion, kindled into flame perhaps by power, but long smouldering redly, fed by contempt and dislike for his good-tempered elder brother. In strong contrast, Suetonius praises Titus for his conduct to the envious junior:

His owne brother never ceasing to lay waite for his life, but professedly in manner soliciting the armies against him: plotting also and intending thereupon to flie and be gone, hee could never endure either to kill or to sequester and confine, no nor so much as to abridge of any honour: but, as hee had alwaies done from the first day of his imperiall dignity, persevered to testifie and declare, that Partner he was with him in the Soveraigne government, and his heire apparent to succeede him: otherwhiles secretly with teares and praiers beseeching, That he would vouchsafe him yet at length, mutuall love and affection.

But Domitian, hardening his heart, remained scornful of the tears coursing down his brother's fat cheeks. As a boy of seventeen he had shared the perils of the little garrison beleaguered on the Capitol by Vitellius' furious soldiery and had hardly escaped from the fire and sack, disguised in a chorister's white robe. Sharing in the speedy triumph and vengeance of his party, he had at once found himself distrusted by his own kinsmen and deprived by them of any chance of that military fame for which a proud lad's soul was longing. His own father regarded him distrustfully. The boy was "banished to the darkness of private life."[1] He submitted to the inevitable, but with how deep resentment may be imagined.

"Perceiving now," writes Tacitus, "that his elders looked down upon him for his youth, Domitian gave up even the lesser duties of government which he had hitherto performed. Assuming an air of simplicity and modesty, and retiring within himself, he affected a taste for letters and for poetry, his object being to conceal his real mind and withdraw himself from rivalry with his brother, whose gentle nature, so unlike his own, he entirely misunderstood."[2]

Small wonder that when he came to the throne twelve years later he was a man soured, embittered, cynical, believing in the

[1] Von Domaszewski, *op. cit.* II, p. 158.
[2] *Hist.* IV, 86, trans. Ramsay.

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generosity or virtue of neither man nor woman. The blame cannot be laid exclusively to his own charge.

And two causes in particular have contributed to the fashioning of the picture of Domitian as the "compleat crafty tyrant." These were, firstly, the personal animosity of the two most notable writers of his day, and, secondly, religious bitterness. Tacitus, Pliny, and the Christian Church are alike merciless. Neither had the Princes his successors any desire but that their own more kindly virtues should shine the more brightly illumined against the dark background of the murdered Domitian's "reign of terror." Tacitus in chief, the one literary genius of his Age, could pursue the dead Prince's reputation as vengefully and remorselessly as he pleased when it was both safe and fashionable to give vent to spleen both by innuendo and by direct attack.

Tacitus and Pliny the younger, his close friend and correspondent, both belonged to the Senatorial class which had bowed shuddering before the blasts of Domitian's displeasure. Both had preserved their lives by complaisance, and Pliny indeed had been in continuous public employment under the despot. He had received signal marks of Imperial favour from one whom, after death, he labels "insidiosissimus princeps." Domitian had appointed him his own quaestor, and subsequently, in the last years of his rule, prefect of the military treasury (A.D. 94–96). Then, when his Prince was dead, Pliny tried to create the impression that he had been in grave personal danger from the tyrant. He apologises, almost ruefully, for the fact that he did hold office under Domitian. He maintains, with no very clear meaning, that he "halted" in his career under that Prince for the most honourable motives. He glories in the fact that among the dead Emperor's papers there had been found a written denunciation of himself by the informer Mettius Carus. That Domitian had taken no action against him in consequence was a fact not to be dwelt on. There is a rather uncomfortable feeling that the fierceness of the writer's onslaughts strives to conceal a distasteful apology for accepting paid office at such an Emperor's hands.[1] And Tacitus for his part, in his jealous affection for the

[1] Pliny under Domitian: cf. Dessau 2927; Pliny, *Panegyr.* 95; *Ep.* VII, 27, 14.

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fading memory of his father-in-law Agricola, dips his pen in venom to depreciate the ruler's own military deeds upon distant frontiers, as will presently be shown. It is also to be noted that the third writer of the period, Suetonius, for all his piquant taste for horrors and for scandals, presents if not a less sombre picture of Domitian at least one which gives him at times a little credit, and that Suetonius belongs, not to this acrimonious Senatorial class, but to its rival, the equestrian, and could regard the powerful Emperor with the greater impartiality in consequence.

Yet if at the best of times Domitian's reputation could scarcely have survived the malignant depreciation of a Tacitus and a Pliny, Christian tradition came to reinforce the attack and to deprive the tyrant finally of the least claim to merciful consideration. Something will be said later concerning the history of Christianity in the Flavian period.[1] Here it need only be noted that the Christian Church certainly managed to revenge herself upon the memory of her "Second Persecutor," Domitian, gloomy champion of pagan orthodoxy. Church tradition spoke kindly of both Vespasian and Titus. These were "suavissimi principes," who had "revenged Christ upon the Jews." The opened vials of the Apocalypse had poured wrath and fury on the head of Nero. The second Nero, Domitian, fared no better. The more mediocre and fantastic Christian literature became the more angry grew its wrath. Only, because of the inferiority of the writers, in the course of long years the sting has been drawn from their anger. Just as the early simplicity and kindliness of the Gospel message presently became crusted over with dogma and dispute and Christian writers wandered into strange and unfruitful fields of visions and apologetics—unfruitful at least in literary merit if not in converts—so the early age of genius, inspired by the memory of the Master, gave place to mediocrity, and little grace or charity redeems the angry Christian writers of the later centuries from the forgetfulness which they deserve. Still Domitian remains one of the more sinister figures in the miserable pages of ecclesiastical history.

Even Gibbon can remark that "the beloved memory of Titus served to protect above fifteen years the vices of his brother."

[1] See below, chapter III.

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But as Domitian's life was in fact guarded by more substantial defences than by sentimentalism, so his reputation pleads for some measure of greater appreciation. There was work to be done upon the northern frontiers of the Empire of which Titus, good-tempered voluptuary, took little heed. To this work Domitian set resolutely his hand.[1] But even in his administration at home the record is not to be painted in colours wholly black. Even though it were Satan rebuking sin, Domitian's punishment of vice and his vengeance upon actual or supposed offences against purity were swift and terrible in an age when polite society was eager to condone foulness and laughed at the lubricity of a Martial. Much pity has recently been lavished upon the Vestal Cornelia, whom Domitian commanded to be buried alive, "more maiorum," for incest. Pliny indeed inclines to believe her innocent, and declares that the Emperor condemned her to her ghastly doom unheard. His contemporary Suetonius has no doubt of her guilt, neither did any later Emperor recall her supposed paramour from exile.[2] In the administration of justice Domitian was precise and industrious, and his stern censorial "regimen morum" was felt in many spheres. To judicial bribery and corruption he showed no mercy. The authors of defamatory libels were tracked down and degraded.

> Moreover, so carefull was hee to chastise the magistrates within Rome, as the Rulers of Provinces abroad of their misdemeanours, that never at any time they were either more temperate or just in their places. The most part of whome after his dayes we our selves have seene culpable, yea and brought into question for all manner of crimes.[3]

As a boy he had amused himself with versifying.

> Scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim.

In his later years he is said to have disdained poetry, music, and literature alike, and in spite of his devotion to his patron goddess Minerva, he read little or nothing beyond the "Acts and Commentaries" of Tiberius. To his pupil the grim old Emperor—that "dark Tyrant-shape"[4]—has thus bequeathed a

[1] See below, chapters V–VII.
[2] Von Domaszewski pays no heed to this evidence.
[3] Suetonius, c. 8.
[4] Von Domaszewski, *op. cit.* II, p. 159.

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share in the gloom which wraps round his closing years on Capri. And yet the ancient record none the less states that Domitian offered rich prizes for competition among poets and musicians. Better for such was a somewhat contemptuous patron than a Prince like Nero, eagerly entering the lists of combat himself. Moreover, Domitian showed himself (like Trajan afterwards) "a veritable Maecenas to the libraries."[1]

All liberall studies in the beginning of his Empire he neglected: albeit hee tooke order to repair the libraries consumed with fire, to his exceeding great charges: making search from all parts for the copies of bookes lost, and sendinge as farre as to Alexandria, to write them out and correct them.

"Howbeit," adds his biographer, "his ordinary speech was not unelegant: and otherwhiles you should have him come foorth even with notable sentences and Apophthegmes. As for example: 'Would God,' quoth he, 'I were as faire and well favoured as Metius thinks himself to be': and seeing one's head party coloured, with yellowish and white silver haires intermingled: hee said it was snow and mede mixed together."

Tall, handsome, "well-shaped all his body throughout, excepting his feet: the toes whereof were of the shortest," he was unhappily sensitive and conscious of the baldness which presently afflicted him unduly. "Hitherto certainly," he once remarked plaintively to the Senate, "ye have liked wel of my minde and of my countenance."

With his bald head he was so much yrked, that hee tooke it as a reproach unto himself, if any man els were either in bord[2] or good earnest twitted therewith: albeit in a certaine little booke, which he wrot unto a freind of his, concerning the nourishment and preservation of the haire of the head, he by way of consolation both to that freind and also to himselfe, inserted thus much:

οὐχ ὁράᾳς οἷος κἀγὼ καλός τε μέγας τε;
See'st thou not yet how big and tall,
How faire I am and comely with all?

"And yet," quoth he, "my destinie and fortune wil be to have the same defect of haire: and with a stoute heart I endure, that the bush of my head waxeth olde in my fresh youth. And this would I have you to know, that nothing is more lovely, nothing more fraile and transitorie than beautie and favour."

[1] Schiller.
[2] i.e. "jest," a very old English word.

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His delight in shows and games Domitian shared with the common folk of the city. So he flattered their taste while he despised their wits and hated any pretensions of "the people" to interfere in the affairs of State. "Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη," he quoted aptly, "I like not so many Caesars."

His passion for archery was absorbing, his skill in it amazing.

He entrusted the education of the two small boys, sons of his cousin Flavius Clemens, to the chief expert of the day, Quintilian, whose real interest in the theory of education strikes a new note in Latin literature. In the true Italian spirit, that shown so notably earlier by Augustus, Domitian had the interests of family and family life much at heart. Like Tiberius, he refused to accept bequests from testators if these left children behind them. And in other ways also he showed that meanness at least was not one of his failings. His vengeance fell heavily on those who denounced offenders against the Treasury without clear proof. And his *mot* became as famous as it was true: "Princeps qui delatores non castigat irritat"—"An Emperor who does not punish informers hounds them on."

Once, in the supposed interests of Italy, Domitian, when in the autumn of A.D. 91[1] a bad corn harvest coincided with a plentiful vintage, published next year an edict intended to promote the growing of corn both in the homeland and in the provinces as well:

> By reason one time of an exceeding plentiful vintage and as much scarcity of Corne, supposing that by the immoderate care imployed upon Vineyards tillage was neglected, hee made an Edict, That no man in all Italie should plant any newe young Vineyards: and that in foraine Provinces they should cut them all downe, reserving at the most but the one halfe.

Too much corn could not be grown in the Empire for its whole benefit, and Rome herself might seem dangerously dependent upon the supply of grain from overseas, Egypt and Africa. Yet no worse enemy than storms at sea threatened the safety of that supply throughout the first centuries of the Empire. The destruction of vines, too, in the provinces and the prohibition to

[1] Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.* new edn. *sub voc.* "Flavius No. 77" (VI, pp. 2574–2575): cited as P.-W. henceforward.

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plant new vines in them, for which there was an old Republican precedent,[1] were only an encouragement to the Italian farmer so far as by diminishing the supply of imported wine it might secure an increased price for Italian wine and so compensate the cultivator of the vine in Italy for the restrictions placed also upon him. Possibly this was in the Emperor's mind, a curious alternative to the imposition of a protective duty upon foreign wines. The edict certainly ran for a while in Asia,[2] Africa, the Danube provinces and northern Gaul. It probably failed completely in Baetica and Narbonese Gaul, the vines of which provinces were an ever-growing menace to those of Italy.[3] A simpler and incredible reason for this edict is given by the ingenious Philostratus, "namely for that many seditious broyles and commotions were occasioned by drunkennesse." Domitian as temperance reformer and prohibitionist is not a convincing picture.

In any case, such Government interference, even in days of Roman autocracy, was unlikely to be fruitful of useful or lasting results. The rich valley land of the Po supports both grain and vine in the same place at the same time. The thinner soil of the sunny hill slopes south of the Apennines cannot, to use ancient classical language, be given over from Bacchus' to Ceres' keeping with success. The edict ran for a few years, but protests rained in upon the Emperor and the economic man proved too strong for the autocrat. Domitian, records his biographer, "continued not in the full execution of this Act," and in the last year of his reign he seems to have accepted defeat and withdrew it altogether.

The last yeere and day of his life, the very houre also and what kinde of death he should die, he had long time before suspected. For when he was but a youth, the Chaldaean Astrologers had foretolde him all. His Father also one time at supper, when hee saw him forbeare to eat Mushromes, laughed him to scorne as ignorant of his owne destinie, for that hee did not feare the sword rather. And therefore, being alwaies timorous and strucken into his pensive dumps upon the least suspitions presented, hee was beyond all measure troubled and disquieted: in so much as it is credibly reported that no other cause moved him more to dispense with that Edict

[1] Cic. *De rep.* III, 6, 9; cf. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, note 17, pp. 492–493.

[2] Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* VI, p. 222.

[3] Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* pp. 157, 189, 621.

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which hee had proclaimed for the cutting downe and destroying of Vineyards, than certaine Pamphlets and Libels scattered abroade with these verses:

Κἄν με φάγῃς ἐπὶ ῥίζαν, ὅμως ἔτι καρποφορήσω
Ὅσσον ἐπισπεῖσαι σοί, τράγε, θυομένῳ.

Eate me to roote; yet fruit will I beare still and never misse
Enough to poure on Caesars head whiles sacrific'd he is.

Ovid had long since published his Latin version of these lines of the poet Evenus, in which the indignant vine cries out upon the nibbling goat:

Rode, caper, vitem: tamen huic, cum stabis ad aram,
In tua quod spargi cornua possit erit;[1]

and the use of them as a lampoon by some indignant vine-grower was skilful enough. "Pensive dumps" may indeed harass any temperance reformer. But the withdrawal of the edict may have had sounder justification, and could be as easily misrepresented as was Vespasian's cheerful laugh when at supper with his son: "Not like mushrooms? *They* won't kill you."

It was reserved for Domitian's successors, Nerva and Trajan, to devise other more likely measures for the help of Italian agriculture.[2]

Something then may be set down on the credit side even of Domitian's life. But the years sped on, and lust and cruelty came to mar it sorely. Deeply swayed by innate timorousness and suspicion, he succumbed helplessly to the temptations of absolute power. Of some of his practices and pursuits, as of Nero's, the less said the better. Domitian's "rubor vultus"—he flushed up upon the least provocation—was, as the old Elizabethan writer says, anything but "a tincture of vertue and modestie. A flushing red therefore is not alwaies a signe of grace." Towards the end of his reign he seems to have indulged his taste for cruelty without restraint, and, in particular, at the expense of the upper classes of society. "In seinem Verfahren war System"—there was method in his proceedings—as the modern writer puts it.[3] Moreover, his treatment of his destined victims was sardonic, and displayed a gruesome humour reminiscent of the Louis XI of *Quentin Durward*. He played with them as a

[1] *Fasti*, I, 357. [2] See below, chapter IX. [3] Schiller, p. 523.

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cat of velvet paws with a mouse, and the whimsical horror of his cruelty impressed a generation only too closely conversant with raw savagery.

Now, in this Crueltie of his hee was not onely excessive, but also subtill and craftie; comming upon men when they looked least for it. A Controller of his owne,[1] the very day before he crucified him, hee called into his bed-chamber, and made him to sit downe by him upon a pallet or beds side: he dismissed him light-harted and merie: he deigned him also a favour and remembrance from his own supper.

Unto Aretinus Clemens,[2] a man of Consuls degree, one of his familiar minions and bloodhounds to fetch in Booties, when he purposed to condemne to death, he shewed the same countenance as beforetime, yea and more grace than ordinary: untill at last, as hee went with him in the same Licter, by occasion that he espied the Informer against him, "How sayest thou," quoth hee, "Clemens, shall wee tomorrow heare this most errant knave and varlet, what hee can say?" And because hee would with greater contempt and disdaine abuse mens patience, hee never pronounced any heavie and bloudie sentence without some preamble and preface of Clemencie: so that there was not now a surer signe of some horrible end and Conclusion than a milde beginning and gentle exordium. Some that stoode accused of Treason he inducted into the *Curia*; and when he had premised a Speech, That hee would make triall that day how deere hee was unto the Senate, hee soone effected thus much thereby, that the parties should have their judgement to suffer *More maiorum* (to have their necks fast locked in pillory and so to be beaten with rods to death): and then, himselfe, affrighted as it were with the rigorous cruelty of that punishment, would intercede in these words (for it shall not be impertinent to knowe the very same as hee delivered them) "Permit my good LL. this to be obtained of your gracious Piety (which I know I shall hardly obtaine) that yee would doe so much favour unto these persons condemned as that they may choose what death they will die: for by this yee shall spare your owne eyes, and all the world shall know that I was present in the Senate."[3]

In such manner did "the good King Louis XI put to death his brother, the Duke de Guyenne, at the moment when the Duke least thought of such a thing, and while the King was making the greatest show of love to him during his life and of affection for him at his death." Perhaps even Domitian, for all

[1] "Actorem summarum," i.e. steward.

[2] i.e. M. Arrecinus Clemens, consul in A.D. 73 and once again later, whose sister married Titus.

[3] Suetonius, *Dom.* 11.

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his quaint piety and superstition, could hardly have attained the height of the French monarch's "devout prayer and orison at the high altar of our Lady of Clery" upon this occasion:

Ah, my good Lady, my gentle mistress, my only friend, in whom alone I have resource, I pray you to supplicate God in my behalf, and to be my advocate with Him that He may pardon me the death of my brother, whom I caused to be poisoned by that wicked Abbot of Saint John. I confess my guilt to thee as to my good patroness and mistress. But then what could I do? He was perpetually causing disorder in my kingdom. Cause me then to be pardoned, my good Lady, and I know what a reward I will give thee.[1]

The Roman's methods were more direct, and even his ingenuity might have shrunk back dismayed by the Frenchman's pet device of the iron cage of Loches, wherein Cardinal La Balue endured his eleven years of torment. And so his gods gave him scantier guerdon for his piety. Minerva, Goddess of Wisdom, his special "patroness and mistress," dolefully abandoned him at the end to the vengeance of irate Jove. His patron saints were kinder to Louis the credulous.

"Infensus virtutibus princeps." "He could note all the pale faces round him without a sign on that cruel red face of his, his natural bulwark against shame."[2] So wrath smouldered, and the little band of conspirators, the Emperor's own servants and his wife, desperately summoned up courage and in the full light of a September midday struck the tyrant down.

"You know yourself," wrote Marcus Aurelius long afterwards to Verus, "what your grandfather Hadrian said: 'Wretched indeed is the lot of princes, who only by being slain can persuade the world that their tyranny has been attacked.' I have preferred to father the remark on him rather than on Domitian, who is said to have made it first. For in the mouths of tyrants even fine sayings do not carry as much weight as they ought to do."[3]

The biographer Suetonius preserves the words more accurately: "Condicionem principum miserrimam aiebat, 'quibus de coniuratione comperta non crederetur nisi occisis.'"[4]

The Senators had no share in or knowledge of the plot. They had good reason to rejoice at its success. Pliny's tale of his

[1] *Quentin Durward*, Note Q.
[2] *Vit. Avid. Cass.* 2, 5, 6.
[3] Tacitus, *Agricola*, 41, 45.
[4] *Dom.* 21.

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friend Corellius Rufus is significant of the terrified hatred which they felt. Rufus in his old age suffered for many years agonies from the gout.

In the reign of Domitian I paid him a visit at his country-house, where I found him lying sick. As soon as I entered his chamber, his servants withdrew: for such was his constant rule when any very intimate friend was with him: he even carried it so far as to dismiss his wife upon such occasions, though she was most capable of keeping every possible secret. He looked round, and "Why, do you think," he said, "I endure these cruel torments so long? Why, in the hope that I may outlive yonder brigand even by a single day." Had his strength been equal to his spirit, he himself would have done what he was longing for. Still, God heard his prayer, and having obtained it, being now able to die in serenity and freedom, he snapped the ties, many indeed, but yet too few, which bound him to life."[1]

Had Domitian but had a son to foster, perhaps things might have gone better with him, and not, of necessity, worse with Rome. For the boy born to him in A.D. 73 came after all of good honest Italian country stock, grandson as the child was of Vespasian on the father's side and of Nero's great general Corbulo on the mother's.[2] But the lad died young, and the Emperor's hopes of a second heir seventeen years later were disappointed.[3] In his thoughts for the succession he turned to two small boys, his cousins, sons of Flavius Clemens and Domitilla, and bestowed on the one the name of Vespasian and on the other his own name. But at the end of his life in A.D. 95 he slew the father, and the children disappear, though no evidence exists to show that he then also rid himself of boys whom he had expressly named as his heirs. Thereafter he ruled during his last few months a lonely savage figure, without kin, a "gey ill man to live with," and doubtless better dead.

More than one account of the assassination survives,[4] but the tale is best told in the words of Suetonius:

[1] Pliny, *Ep.* I, 12.

[2] That Domitia Longina, wife of Domitian, was Corbulo's daughter, not his sister, seems clear. Cf. Stein *ap.* P.-W. *sub voc.* "Domitius (Corbulo)," Suppl. Band III, p. 410.

[3] Sueton. *Dom.* 3; Martial, VI, 3.

[4] Dio, 67, 17; Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* p. 170; Suidas, Victor, Eutropius, etc. Cf. Janssen's edition of Suetonius, *Vita Dom.* pp. 78–82.

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Concerning the nature of the plot and the manner of his death this is about all that became known.

As the conspirators were deliberating when and how to attack him, whether at the bath or at dinner, Stephanus, Domitilla's steward, at the time under accusation for embezzlement, offered his aid and counsel. To avoid suspicion, he wrapped up his left arm in woollen bandages for some days, pretending that he had injured it, and concealed in them a dagger. Then, pretending to betray a conspiracy and for that reason being given an audience, he stabbed the emperor in the groin as he was reading a paper which the assassin handed him and stood in a state of amazement.

As the wounded prince attempted to resist, he was slain with seven wounds by Clodianus, a subaltern, Maximus, a freedman of Parthenius, Satur, decurion of the chamberlains, and a gladiator from the imperial school.

A boy who was engaged in his usual duty of attending to the Lares in the bedroom and so was a witness of the murder, gave this additional information. He was bidden by Domitian, immediately after he was dealt the first blow, to hand him the dagger hidden under his pillow and to call the servants; but he found nothing at the head of the bed save the hilt, and besides all the doors were closed. Meanwhile the emperor grappled with Stephanus and bore him to the ground, where they struggled for a long time, Domitian trying now to wrest the dagger from his assailant's hands and now to gouge out his eyes with his lacerated fingers.

He was slain on the fourteenth day before the Kalends of October[1] in the forty-fifth year of his age and the fifteenth of his reign. His corpse was carried out on a common bier by those who bury the poor, and his nurse Phyllis cremated it at her suburban estate on the Via Latina; but his ashes she secretly carried to the temple of the Flavian family and mingled them with those of Julia, daughter of Titus, whom she had also reared.[2]

Parthenius, a chamberlain to Domitian, was chief conspirator and had been promoted to equestrian rank. It was he who had removed the blade of the dagger under the Emperor's pillow and sent Stephanus into the bedchamber where Domitian was resting after his midday bathe. To him and to Petronius Secundus, prefect of the Praetorian Guard, Nerva presently owed his election as Emperor in Domitian's place. Phyllis takes her place with Nero's sorrowing nurses, Ecloge and Alexandria,

[1] Sept. 18, A.D. 96.

[2] *Vita Dom.* c. 17, trans. Rolfe.

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who in like manner had paid the last honour to a dead Emperor's ashes.

"That he was killed," the biographer records, "the people took it indifferently, but the souldiers to the very heart, and forthwith went about to canonise him a God and to call him Divus: ready enough also to revenge his death, but they wanted heads to lead them."

Domitian had raised the soldiers' pay from 225 to 300 denarii per annum, possibly to compensate for that rise in the price of commodities which is the usual consequence of heavy taxation. The Roman army had this further reason for regretting the murder of a soldier Emperor.[1] But the troops, while they could make and unmake Princes, had small voice in their posthumous reputation. An exultant Senate condemned Domitian's memory, and ordered the erasing of his name from all monuments and records and the destruction of his statues. These orders were partially carried out and traces of them remain in numerous inscriptions to this day. The indignant soldiers later exacted from Nerva the signal punishment of the actual assassins. They could not rescue their dead commander's name or fame from insult and obloquy. The pen triumphed.

Nuper Tarpeio quae sedit culmine cornix
"Est bene" non potuit dicere, dixit "Erit."

The Crow which lately sate on top of Tarpeie newes to tell,
"Tis well," whenas she could not say, said yet "It will be well."

And so it fell out, I assure you, shortly after, such was the abstinent and moderate cariage of the Emperours next ensuing.

With this tale of the ominous fowl (which, however, like Cicero, "spoke Greek" at a crisis)[2] Suetonius brings his lurid *Lives of the Twelve Caesars* to a close. And so, to the accompaniment of a crow's croaking, Domitian, last of the Flavian Emperors, passes to the Shades.[3]

[1] Von Domaszewski, *op. cit.* II, p. 160. The German depreciates Domitian's military capacity and work always most unfairly. But see below, p. 104.

[2] Ἔσται πάντα καλῶς: Sueton. *Dom.* 23; Victor, *Epit.* 13, 10; *Julius Caesar*, Act 1, Scene 2.

[3] The best edition of Suetonius' *Life of Domitian* is the recent one of Johannes Janssen, Groningae, Hagae, *apud* J. B. Wolters, 1919—with admirably complete Latin notes. For the rendering of Suetonius I have used mainly Philemon Holland's famous and picturesque translation (1606), whose English is to me of irresistible attraction.

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CHAPTER II

THE FLAVIAN ABSOLUTISM

§ 1 The passing of the "dyarchy." § 2 Titles and worship. § 3 Consulship, censorship, and Senate. § 4 The balance of good and evil.

§ 1. *The passing of the "dyarchy."*

THE EMPEROR AUGUSTUS had ingeniously disguised a fact which Julius Caesar had made manifest too prematurely to the Roman world and paid the last penalty for so doing. This fact was that at last the Roman Republic was dead and that all power of government must rest with one man, the Prince. The concealments by which Augustus hid his omnipotence were of incalculable value to the stability of the new Constitution.

He had divided the functions of government between three classes, his own household officers, the officials of his new Imperial civil service, and the members of the old senatorial order. To these last, as the tradition of centuries bade, he reserved the higher military and provincial commands. On the Senate also as a whole he bestowed new powers both of legislation and of jurisdiction, which under the Republic that body had not in law possessed. Here was compensation for the practical loss of its traditional rights, the control of finance and the direction of foreign policy. Moreover, both he and the wiser of his successors strove not only to be careful of Senators' susceptibilities, but also to goad them by encouragement and by invitation to the exercise of those powers which they retained but were inclined to be apprehensive of using. And the extraordinary, even temporary, character of the new Imperial authority was solemnly recognised ever and again by statute. The famous theory persisted that the Principate died at the death of each Prince and could be restored to life only by the free choice and unfettered determination of the Roman Senate and People. This was not without its influence upon the peaceable ordering of affairs. Fictions have undoubted weight in politics. The Augustan "dyarchy," that is, the division of power between Prince and

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Senate, was from the first a fiction, for what was divided was executive function and not power. That the Prince in this division was but "the representative of the People"[1] was a second fiction. But the dyarchy was none the less a marvellous bit of constructive statecraft.

The needs of the State, the lively force of circumstances, and the honest manifestation of facts soon rent holes in the draperies with which the most sagacious of Roman Emperors had sought to cloke Imperial autocracy. But it was in the Flavian period that the coverings were torn so ruthlessly away that the Government of Rome stood forth a naked absolutism in appearance as well as in fact. Yet some reservation even here must still be made. Old Republican titles, institutions, and methods still survived, and such survival, together with the conservation of and abiding reverence for the laws of the past, was to save the Constitution for long years yet to come from its last degradation —Byzantinism with its cringing, its servility, its bureaucracy. What was also chief perhaps in importance, liberty and self-government, banished from the Capital city and the central administration, took refuge in the country towns. The municipal institutions and activities of these towns still displayed the old Republican virtues and principles, free speech, free election, free decision, that self-determination which is one of Rome's great gifts to Europe, a gift which, like the bird's song in the popular hymn, is never so dearly prized as when it is lost.

In Rome however and the Central Government the Flavian Emperors set themselves quite definitely and resolutely to substitute for this Republican self-determination the reality of absolutism. This was made manifest in those two departments of Roman public life, the religious and the political, in which their predecessors had displayed their power and importance with greater caution and more reserve. Only in the third, the military sphere, was it almost impossible even for a Domitian to make more manifest the always undisguised control by the Prince.

[1] As Mommsen, and, before him, E. S. Beesly (*Tiberius*, p. 90).

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§ 2. *Titles and worship.*

When religion is polytheistic, the promotion of an individual after death to the hierarchy of Heaven is a matter of no great difficulty if his value or importance during life seems to warrant such an honour, especially among a people apt to admire, fond of heroes, and given to an anthropomorphic conception of divinity. Where God is made in man's image, what hinders a man becoming God among such a folk? The Greek from the earliest days indulged himself in this somewhat graceful taste for deification, and in the Hellenistic monarchies which developed out of Alexander's Empire the taste ran riot, so degraded and servile became the subjects of a Seleucid or a Ptolemy. Such an honour might seem presently too barren when reserved for a dead king, and the ruler in his lifetime could not submit to be deemed inferior to the deified Alexander.

But from his earliest days the Roman was of shrewder mind. Though to him every detail of daily life was veritably impregnated with divinity, yet he disliked anthropomorphism until in this as in other elements of culture he came to acknowledge meekly the superiority of the Greek. Yet for many a long century he hesitated to endow a fellow-citizen, a comrade or commander in the field, with the attributes of deity. Always under the Republic it was sacrilege to confound the worship of the gods with the praises of a man. The soldier won his triumphs, but the State paid public thanksgiving to the gods for them. So "religio" commanded. The effusive Oriental, the excitable Greek, might worship the Roman general in his lifetime or offer him sacrifice after his death. His own countrymen laughed and left such follies to the conquered races.

With Julius Caesar there came a change. Syrian Orontes had long been flowing into Tiber. In his very lifetime Julius accepted divine honours in Rome itself, and his wiser successor Augustus, however wholeheartedly he deprecated such worship of himself, claimed it resolutely for dead Julius, and even had to admit it for himself in the cosmopolitan harbours of Italy such as Puteoli. Yet Augustus was not enamoured of titles of

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reverence; even the lesser title "Dominus" he thoroughly disliked.

The name and title of Lord he alwaies abhorred as a contumelious and reproachfull terme. When upon a time, as he beheld the plaies, these words were pronounced out of a Comoedie, O good and gracious Lord: whereupon the whole assembly with great joy and applause accorded thereto as if they had beene spoken of him: immediatly both with gesture of hand and shew of countenance he repressed such undecent flatteries: and the next day reproved them most sharply by an edict: neither would hee ever after suffer himselfe to be called Dominus, no not of his owne children and nephewes either in earnest or boord.[1] And that which more is, such faire and glavering wordes hee forbad them to use among themselves.[2]

Tiberius, as always, stuck fast by his predecessor's example.

One there was who called him Dominus, but hee gave him warning not to name him any more by way of contumely. Another chaunced to say, "His sacred businesses." Hee caused him to change those words and in steede of Sacred to put in Laborious and painfull."

And again:

Hee forbad expresly any temples, Flamins or Priests to be ordained for him, yea and the erection of Statues and images in his honour without his leave and permission: the which ranne with this onely clause and condition, That they should not be set up among the images of the Gods, but stand with other ornaments of the house.[3]

Augustus and Tiberius were true Italians and knew the commonsense of their countrymen. They sympathised with the Roman's mordant humour. It was not so long since Cicero had dared to make mockery in the Senate of dead Caesar's pulvinar, simulacrum, fastigium—the customary decorations of a new-fledged deity, and, turning with simulated anger upon Antony, gibed at him as an insincere, "half-baked" priest of the dead dictator. "Cur non inauguraris?" Why not fully-ordained, priest of a dead man? Lunatic Caligula earned but mockery in Rome for his assumption of divinity. Nero demanded consecration for the poisoned Claudius, and consecration that fond old man duly received. But the immortal parody, the "Pumpkinification" of Claudius, witty product of the season

[1] i.e. "jest," as on p. 16. The spelling varies.
[2] Suetonius, *Aug.* 53.
[3] Suetonius, *Tib.* 27, 26.

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of the Saturnalia which followed hard upon Claudius' death, whether product of Seneca's or even perhaps of Nero's own pen, showed how in the streets of Rome the old Roman sense of the ridiculous could safely make jest of the deification of a prince. When a mumbling dotard had to find his home in Heaven, thence for the first time to rule the world, the Roman still dared to laugh. "Deorum iniurias dis curae," and the gods bundled the intruder down to Hell.[1]

But the tide of adulation ran too strongly and leapt over the barriers of Roman commonsense and humour. Nero himself, that sentimental woman-soul wrapped in the artist-robes of Greece, indulged his luxury of grief and his dramatic sense in claiming divine honours for his little dead infant daughter Claudia and for his wife Poppaea the beautiful, when she too died.[2] The family begins to claim its share in the honours of deification.

Nero set perhaps an unfortunate precedent, but none the less the Flavian princes followed and improved upon it. Vespasian, in the very moment of death, gasps out a jest at the expense of his approaching divinity, but for all that he had set the example which his son Domitian (who sorely lacked his father's sturdy sense of humour) solemnly exaggerated. It was already in Vespasian's day that the Flavian family was set up upon a pedestal for all men's reverence and worship. The Imperial House became a "domus divina," the family home on the Quirinal hill a "templum," the Princeps "sacratissimus."[3] Even the women of the house and the babies who died in infancy received divine honours after death. Only, curiously enough, the old Italian dame, Vespasian's own wife, Flavia Domitilla, escaped deification, possibly because she was dead before her husband became Emperor.[4] But his daughter, of the same name as her mother, is "diva Domitilla" with a priest, "sacerdos," of her own for her cult.[5] And the Flavian gens acquired a special priesthood, the "Sodales Flaviales," to conduct this worship of its deified members.

[1] Cf. my *Principate of Nero*, pp. 51–54.
[2] *Ib.* pp. 148, 149.
[3] Hübner, *Eph. Epig.* I, 45; cf. also *Hermes*, I, 151 *sq.*; Dessau 6105.
[4] Cf. P.-W. *sub voc.* No. 225, p. 2731.
[5] *C.I.L.* V, 2829 (Padua).

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Then Domitian, somewhat tentatively, took the final step and claimed to be "God" in his lifetime.

With semblable arrogancie, when as in the name of his Procuratours he endited any formall Letters, thus hee began, Our Lord and God thus commaundeth. Whereupon afterwards this order was taken up, that neither in the writing or speech (common talke) of any man he should be otherwise called. No Statues suffred he to be erected for him in the Capitoll but of gold and silver.[1]

Augustus and Tiberius had misliked the simple title "dominus." Domitian is "dominus et deus." If this order was first issued in the year following October 1, A.D. 85, the servile Martial was unwontedly slow to adopt the new title, as it duly makes its appearance in his verse first in the fifth volume of his epigrams, which was not published until the autumn of A.D. 89. But frequent repetition of it later atoned for his tardiness.[2] Domitian was "deus"; as God he is called back from the Danube; his expected son was "vera deum suboles" and to be tended by Titus' daughter Julia, now divine in Heaven.[3] Pliny can scornfully point the contrast of Trajan's modesty, who refused homage as "deus" or "numen."[4]

Even Domitian however walked warily on this delicate ground. He required the use of the phrase "dominus et deus" from his own agents and domestic staff, and "all Greeks and barbarians called him God."[5] But there is no evidence that he demanded such obsequious language from the official services in the Empire, nor would the best society in Rome employ it. Poets of course had to earn their bread.[6] But so began that final flowering of adulation which, though held in check by his immediate successors, presently again renders the Court of the later Emperors malodorous. And even Pliny, so tactfully eulogistic of Trajan's sense of fitness in declining the divine name, in all his letters to his Emperor uses the word "domine," My Lord. "My God" would have come as trippingly off his pen had Trajan shown the least desire for it.

[1] Suetonius, *Dom.* 13.
[2] Martial, v, 81; cf. Janssen's note on Suetonius, *Dom.* 13.
[3] Martial, vi, 3.
[4] *Panegyr.* 2, 3; 52, 2.
[5] Dio Chrys. *Or.* 45, 1.
[6] Cf. Silius, iii, 671.

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§ 3. *Consulship, censorship, and Senate.*

The attitude of the Flavian Emperors to the chief magistracy in the State is significant. This, the consulship, had been held with comparative infrequency by the princes of the earlier Julio-Claudian line, ever since Augustus in 23 B.C. had discontinued the experiment of accepting it annually, when he found this practice unpopular with the Senatorial class. In the remaining thirty-six years of his long life he had been consul but twice again. In the twenty-three years of his rule Tiberius was consul three times only, and Claudius five times in his fourteen years. Nero pursued this practice of spasmodic consulships, taking the office five times in the fifteen years of his principate. But with the Flavian Emperors the system was reversed, and only in rare years did the ruler choose to avoid the office. Only in the years A.D. 73 and 78 did Vespasian leave it on one side. Titus was consul twice in his twenty-six months of rule and had already held the office six times in his father's reign. For the first eight years of his reign Domitian accepted the consulship each year, and only towards the end of his principate began to show a strange disinclination towards it, refusing to hold it in four of the six years A.D. 91 to 96. Yet his total number of consulships, seventeen, exceeded those of any preceding Emperor.[1] During his reign however he held most only for the first fortnight of the year and then resigned, so that the Senatorial class found the number of chances of attaining to what was always the proudest position in Rome practically undiminished. Nor did Domitian during his reign retain any single consulship beyond the first of May. The polite Court poet Statius sings of the "longing" of the Senate and of Rome to see the Prince consul, of the joy when he conquered the reluctance inspired by his modesty and hearkened to the Senate's prayers. Hadrian interpreted the ambitious Senators' feelings better and reverted to the Augustan practice (Trajan, indeed, in the last fourteen years of his rule, had set him the example), and Hadrian's two successors, Pius and Marcus Aurelius, were careful to do the like.[2] Even Commodus

[1] Cf. Cagnat, *Cours d'Épigraphie Latine*, chapter III.

[2] Cf. Suetonius, *Dom.* 13; Statius, *Silv.* IV, 1, 10, 18, 34.

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who trampled on almost every sound tradition of the past, was consul only seven times in seventeen years.

More symptomatic still of the Flavian absolutism was the prince's attitude towards that other famous magistracy, the censorship.

In the far-off days of the Republic, the censors both controlled the new admissions to the Senate and also could deprive members of their seats, though they used this power of deprivation but seldom and never without grave cause shown. But clearly both by the "lectio Senatus" and by the "nota Censoria" the censor had a certain mastery of the Senate. The dictator Sulla, therefore, whose aim was to entrust the government of Rome to the undisputed control of the Senate, had skilfully rendered that mastery inoperative. By his new device of automatic right of entrance into the Senate he practically abolished the "lectio" by the censors. And if there was no formal abolition of the "nota," it certainly was never inflicted so long as his Constitution remained unhurt. First in the fierce democratic reaction against this in 70 B.C. did the new censors of the year, Lentulus and Gellius, perhaps the first pair of censors since Sulla's death, wield their regained powers so harshly that they expelled sixty-four Senators from their seats. Nothing showed more clearly that this ancient magistracy might in Republican theory be considered in effective control of the Senate whenever it chose to exercise its undoubted rights.

It was therefore for this reason that Augustus had steadily refused to take upon himself the actual office of censor, lest by holding it he might demonstrate too clearly his power at the expense of his nominal partner in the "dyarchy" of Prince and Senate, and had chosen to exercise the censorial supervision of men and morals by more indirect methods. The delicate distinction between his refusal of the censorship and his acceptance on more than one occasion of the "censoria potestas" was characteristic of his ingenuity. When therefore Claudius, in his blundering antiquarian zeal, sought to lure this as other Republican wraiths from their dusty tombs and had himself appointed censor, his pedantry was too significant to be anything but unpopular with the Senatorial class. He himself had

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scarcely the wit to realise the true inwardness of the proceeding.

The shrewd Flavians understood the matter very clearly. The "dyarchy" was dead. The Prince would be master of the Senate as of every other department and institution in public life. The weapon lay ready to their hand. Vespasian became censor in the first half of A.D. 73, Titus being associated with him as his colleague, and he remains censor in inscriptions dated in each succeeding year of his life. Titus is similarly entitled censor in A.D. 79 and 80 after his father's death.[1] Finally Domitian made a brief tale of the whole affair when, early in 85, he assumed the office of "censor perpetuus," "censor for life."[2]

Indeed, the Senate had suffered heavy loss of life in the year of the four Emperors, as earlier in the civil wars of Sulla, Caesar, and Octavian, and it sorely needed replenishing. The Flavian princes used their censorial power to admit many new members to its ranks. This was a more important use of the censorship than the correction of public morals, the punishment of a stage-struck quaestor or over-amorous knight, or the due ordering of seats at the theatre.[3] For the infusion of new blood into the Senate made easier the dependence of that body upon the ruler. Italy and the provinces were called on in large measure to supply the new members, and thus the only active legislative assembly now remaining in the State became far more representative of the different parts of the Empire than it had been in earlier days. This in itself was all to the good. It was also to some extent an advantage that members of the Senate now had their thoughts and their interests less straitly confined to the Capital city. Country towns and districts could now from time to time see the great men visiting their country estates, and the boys in the market-place could point proudly, saying, "Look! Our Senator."[4] There was also a measure of loss in this increased "provincialism" in the Senate, some loss of prestige, some narrowness or parochialism of view. Later

[1] Dessau 247, 5927, 260, and Index, pp. 269 and 271.
[2] Several inscriptions from 87 (cf. Dessau, Index, pp. 272–273). See also *C.I.L.* III, p. 855 and Janssen, p. 42.
[3] Cf. Suetonius, *Dom.* 8. [4] Cf. Pansa in the *Last Days of Pompeii*.

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Emperors deemed it wise to combat this by compelling every Senator to invest some part of his capital in Italian land. The younger Pliny, himself quite a worthy and a typical Senator of the Flavian period, explains astutely enough the effect of such compulsory purchase upon the value of real estate in the market.[1] "Now is the time," he writes, "to sell Italian land dear and buy it cheap in the provinces."

The more directly political effect of this replenishment of the Senate by the Imperial censor was obvious. Many of the Senators owed their seats to direct nomination by the Prince, and all must feel themselves dependent on him for their retention of their places. Who then could dare run the risk of withstanding the slightest hint of the Emperor's least desire or project? And the Senate was now the sole survival from the wreckage of Republican assemblies. The Popular Assembly and its one solitary "Lex curiata" at the outset of each principate were vanishing shadows from the past. It may be that the Centuriate Assembly retained the direct election of the consuls until the death of Nero. The evidence on the disputed point remains inconclusive. But at least from Vespasian's reign the elections of these, as, since Tiberius, of every other magistrate, took place in the Senate. The "People" themselves had neither any remnant of power nor any interest in politics. Food, gifts, games, shows, races of chariots or bare-legged maidens, gladiatorial contests, wild beasts, purple and gold added as two new colours for charioteers to the white and red of the Republic, the green of Tiberius, the blue of Nero, six competing factions and rivalries—what more could the soul of the Roman people desire than this? Nor ever came such a foreign peril as might even yet arouse them from such puerilities and kindle once more in every true Roman heart the flame and passion of devotion to the State.

Of Republican constituent assemblies only the Senate remained, and now, under the Flavian princes, it was a Senate wholly under the Emperor's control. Gibbon has remarked in a pregnant sentence that "the principles of a free constitution are irrecoverably lost when the legislative power is nominated

[1] Pliny, *Ep.* VI, 19; cf. *Vit. Marci*, 11.

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by the executive." In this way freedom perished out of the Roman State. The childishness of the discussions and of the passions which they excited in the Senate henceforward, even under Trajan, could vex Pliny's honest soul and make his many letters concerning these but dreary reading. The tales of Senatorial debates of the time are as arid as are dead cacti in a desert of sand. To these straits had Flavian absolutism reduced the Senate of Rome, the noblest name of all.

There was indeed the Emperor's Privy Council, and the wiser among the Princes might consult his Councillors on matters more important than the fate of a monstrous turbot. Power and initiative were wholly lacking to the Council, and if a Domitian preferred to discuss matters of State with a small scarlet-clad boy acolyte "with an abnormally small head," who stood at his feet at all gladiatorial contests and hearkened sagely to his master's whisperings,[1] no one could say the Emperor nay. The oldest and most hoary-haired of the Imperial Councillors could rest at home at peace with all the lighter heart, and comfort himself with the soul-satisfying reflection that all was not lost. The Senatorial mint had resumed the task and honour of issuing the token money, and Nero's recent attempt to oust the Senate from its control of such coinage had been "definitely abandoned."[2]

Not only Domitian would smile as grimly as scornfully at this exception to "Flavian absolutism."

§ 4. *The balance of good and evil.*

Flavian "absolutism" was tempered only by the ruler's fear of revolt or assassination, if he lacked the virtues of self-restraint and judgment. Such was the "direct action" of the protestants if the Prince flung all considerations of moderation and prudence to the winds. This it is which makes the personal character of each Emperor so important, and to this degree justifies the "Suetonian" method of historical writing.

A picturesque French historian, writing in 1870, accused the Flavian Emperors of living merely on expedients and possessing

[1] Suetonius, *Dom.* 4.
[2] H. Mattingly, *J.R.S.* VII (1917), p. 68.

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not one single political idea. "They seized power. They herded men like sheep. Vespasian was a parvenu, Titus an adventurer, Domitian a usurper. No one of the three created anything. No one of the three strove in any way to redress the wrongs or to strengthen the defences of his country."[1] Here language which might befit a critic of Napoleon III misses the mark again and again. Domitian's work for the security of the frontiers will be appraised later. But absolutism is after all a political idea, however repellent, and its development as a system of government for the Roman Empire was the conscious work of the Flavian Princes. After Vespasian's reign no uneasy phantom of Republican liberty, no pale ghost of the "consent of the governed," had need to haunt the bedside of any Roman Emperor. A Trajan enacts laws and wages wars exactly as and when he pleases. The Augustan "dyarchy," in its day a reality of a kind, is at an end, and the monarchy is an absolute monarchy.

Tacitus himself, on close scrutiny of his sentimental outburst, makes this clear enough. In his ever-famous panegyric on Nerva and Trajan he speaks enthusiastically of the "new commingling of princedom and liberty"—res olim dissociabiles.[2] But this new liberty he elsewhere most precisely defines. "Rara temporum felicitate, ubi sentire quae velis et quae sentias dicere licet."[3] Of Domitian's tyranny he explains what was "ultimum in servitute, adempto per inquisitiones etiam loquendi audiendique commercio."[4] This "new liberty" is freedom of opinion and freedom of speech. Nor was it a new liberty in the days of Augustus:

As Augustus was speaking in the Senate someone said to him: "I did not understand," and another: "I would contradict you if I had an opportunity." Several times when he was rushing from the House in anger at the excessive bickering of the disputants, some shouted after him: "Senators ought to have the right of speaking their mind on public affairs." At the selection of Senators when each member chose another, Antistius Labeo named Marcus Lepidus, an old enemy of the Emperor's, who was at that time in banishment; and when Augustus asked him whether there were not others more deserving of the honour Labeo replied that every man had his own

[1] Beulé, *Le Procès des Césars*, IV, pp. 324–325.
[2] *Agric.* 3 [3] *Hist.* I, 1. [4] *Agric.* 2.

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opinion. Yet for all that no one suffered for his freedom of speech or insolence.[1]

Nerva and Trajan, like Augustus, became "beloved because of this admirable conduct." But the Paradise Regained was but a straitened Paradise after all. The "new liberty" was anything but the true Republican liberty, that of self-government. The mixture of liberty and princedom was in the proportion of Falstaff's bread and sack.

Thus, save in municipal life (an exception not without its consolation and importance), liberty in the most vital sense of an abused word, that is, self-government, vanishes from Continental Europe for the best part of sixteen centuries, or is dimly visible throughout these long dark years only in spasmodic outbursts of communal independence in Italian and German cities. It was reserved for the slow laborious growth of English Parliamentary government to recall once more the principles and the practices of the dead Republic of Rome. Hence is derived that value in the history of "ancient days" which is denied to the weary interminable record of mediaeval times.

What is to be the judgment passed on this Roman absolutism, and what were its effects?

"The Roman Empire," writes Haverfield,[2] "for most of its life and over most of its lands merits praise from the most uncompromising foes of despotism." Indeed, what other form of government was possible? To the personal autocracy of the Caesars the sole alternative was the decomposition of the Empire into a number of fiercely-contesting semi-barbarous peoples, ancient effete monarchies, decayed and decaying republics, loose confederations or alliances of weak misgoverned States, the whole mad welter a ready prey to the wild folk beyond civilisation's borders on north and east, who were already knocking at the gates of Alp and Caucasus, thrusting over Danube and Euphrates, hanging ominously on the horizon of Syrian and Saharan desert. But for the Roman Empire under its single ruler, civilisation would have gone down in

[1] Suetonius, *Aug.* 54, trans. Rolfe.
[2] *Classical Review*, 1910, p. 106.

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the first or second century of our era amid scenes of barbarism and misery which the world had never seen since it emerged from Minoan chaos. Out of such an abyss hardly could any future generation have climbed up again into peace, security, happiness. A great English democrat has lamented over Rome's failure to accomplish the subjugation of Germany. The result of this failure was a "serious waste of the social and material constructions of Humanity...a scene of needless disorder and uncompensated destruction."[1] There is more reasonableness in this lament than in all the tendencious homage paid by the Prussian autocrat to "Hermann," i.e. Arminius, national hero of Germany. What if the dissolution of the Roman Empire had befallen four centuries before Alaric thundered at the gates of Rome? Then had there been no Roman Law to impose its majesty upon the barbarians, no Christian Church strong enough to require of the invaders restraint and faith.

From such a fate Rome's Imperial power saved Europe, and, with Europe, the world. No alternative to the autocracy of the Roman Emperor, no scheme of representative or federal government, no league of nations, could have attempted the work of civilisation, consolidation, and defence, to which every Roman prince worthy the name set his hand as century followed century.

There is another side to the picture. For what was it but this absolutism which cast a blight upon so many of the arts, those arts which alone might seem to make life worth the living? And of that blight they withered away. Law flourished in the genial atmosphere of Imperial favour. Medicine never depended yet upon patronage for its advance.[2] Painting and sculpture have been called the safety-valves of the monastic life. Yet these arts rejoice in the busy life of the crowded town. Even if it be true that "pure art's birth is still the Republic's," the growing child is all the better sometimes for a patron's nourishment, and portrait sculpture at least never attained such wonderful excellence as in the days of the early Empire. Music, too intimate, too friendly, too human to flourish in the cloister,

[1] E. S. Beesly, *Catiline, Clodius and Tiberius*, p. 104.
[2] Galen was born A.D. 130.

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was still kept back by Heaven for happier days. Now, too, in the literature of the first century native humour makes a bold and welcome appearance, and even romance, a charming stranger, presently peeps out in remote parts of the Empire. But humour and romance, like mysticism, are the natural resources for minds thrust back upon themselves by the impossibility of fruitful or inspiring employment in an outside world of public deliberation and free action. Yet some even of these arts and graces seem to have little joy of the Roman Empire and its system. Painting is mosaic-like *genre*, delicate, apt at perspective, redeemed from pettiness by no breadth of treatment or greatness of subject. Poetry is insincere artificiality, fulsome in tone, not rarely swinish in taste. Architecture is now massive and monstrous, as in Vespasian's Coliseum, Domitian's Thermae, Hadrian's Templum Urbis, Severus' Septizonium; now freakish, exotic and bizarre, as in the Tibur villa. It was Hellenism which redeemed it from the heavy, clumsy Imperial hand in Provence, but on the Moselle at Trêves Roman taste had its way. The "noblest Roman monument in Gaul," the Pont du Gard, finds just praise for its strong simplicity, its picturesque setting, its utility. But to attribute beauty in itself to a Roman aqueduct is only less hard than to find such in a New York sky-scraper (except when invisible at night).

Oratory becomes empty froth and spume; religion is a cold dead world of pale ghosts or a luscious indulgence in Oriental degradation; morals, the best of them, become conventionality sweetened by humanism, the worst of them, foulness unspeakable. Even the rare genius of a Tacitus, the unique glory of the early Empire, was so greatly the despair of posterity that but the barest chance has preserved some part only of his works. This deadening influence of a military autocracy upon art and literature has found some counterpart in our own day since Sedan. The monstrosities of Berlin architecture, the lumpishness of Prussian sculpture, the failure of poetry, the clumsy style, the lack of imagination in literature and scholarship, the tawdriness and soullessness of modern German painting, until Von Uhde's protest came to redeem it, all reinforce the old

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familiar lesson taught by the condition of the Roman Empire from Vespasian to Honorius. When a man's thought is not free in politics, it becomes enslaved in literature, in art, and even in craftsmanship. If in the kingdom of Prussia theological speculative thought remained erratically free, this was due to special causes. A Protestant Imperialism had no particular interest in maintaining an orthodoxy which fitted in but awkwardly with the popularisation of a purely German Deity.

Thus in both the ancient and the modern Empire the arts of war and of administration prospered beneath the shade of autocracy. The kindlier fruits of the human spirit, lacking free sunlight, drooped and presently withered away. That autocracy in Rome at least was at the same time consistent with, and in very fact the main cause of, a large measure of widespread comfort and general contentment, popular well-being, and wealth. It was an unambitious humanitarian age. Many of the finer virtues abounded, the sense of civic and of personal duty, human kindliness and generosity, the relief of poverty, the honesty and assiduity of labour, the serene remembrance of the dead. It was not an emotional age, this age wherein materialism thrust idealism out into the dark, and how large a part of the distresses and unrest of mankind is not due to emotion and the vain quest after the ideal! The general felicity of the "Age of the Antonines," an age which in all essentials of life greatly resembled the Flavian era which preceded it, has always been the subject of admiration and even of envy.

In the Roman Empire however, and as a result of its governance, the political sense of the Roman was dying of "accidie,"

> The fourth heed of the beast of hell,

and this spelt slow decay. Intellect, hope, invention, became in their turn stagnant. If rival systems of government do exercise influence upon the thoughts, as undoubtedly they do upon the activities, of mankind, it is not absolutism which gives man the mastery of nature by imagination and by passion. To quote the recent words of a wise writer:

> If one described in a single phrase why it is that the Hellenistic and Roman world, after political liberty is gone, seems to us, for all

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the culture, all the economic activity, all the virtue it still embodies, to be steeped in a kind of dead atmosphere, an *aura morta*, we may say that it is a world without causes....All that the virtuous man could do was to do his individual duty, to play his part, in a world which was never going to be any better than it was in his own day.... The idea of some cause going forward, some cause to which we can contribute, is so bred in the bone of modern man that we can hardly imagine a world in which the hope of improvement and advance is absent.[1]

In such an age let the enthusiast seek the wilderness rather, to remain there for ever at rest. Without a vision, the people perisheth.

In the world of the Roman Empire we of this late age seem still to live with greater sense of kinship than in that of a Benedict or Dominic, a Dunstan or Becket. Through the story of the Middle Ages the modern Englishman seems moving about in worlds not realised, except in so far as the stubborn constancy of human nature calls to him out of the dark. Serfdom, clericalism, monkery, feudalism, dogma, ecclesiasticism, sorcery, persecution—what a long-persisting nightmare is this out of which we have struggled into liberty again. It was Republican Rome which taught the lesson of this political freedom: it was Imperial Rome which forgot it. Never can it be surrendered again, despite all the ambition of any who would still play upon the subconscious terrors innate in man. Now long since freed from the personal despotism of an absolute monarch, our own generation has in its turn freed the world from the attempted despotism of a single nation. Against the threatening of the despotisms of mob-rule, of wealth, of a Soviet minority, of Labour, the modern world has yet to work out its full salvation. From the last and blackest tyranny of all, that over spirit and mind, man must still battle to be wholly freed. Surely of those who inherit political liberty today that shall never be said which holds true of the Roman Empire which had lost that freedom,

Abhomynable accydye accuseth all our nacyon.

[1] Edwyn Bevan, *The Hellenistic Age* (1923), pp. 100–101.

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CHAPTER III

CHRISTIANITY

§ 1 The "second persecution" under Domitian. § 2 The victims. § 3 "The kinsmen of the Lord." [*Note to* §§ 1–3: The evidence, etc.] § 4 Trajan and the Christians.

§ 1. *The "second persecution" under Domitian.*

FOR a quarter of a century following the first, the Neronian, persecution, this "critical time in the relations of the Church to the Empire,"[1] the Christian Church enjoyed a period of almost untroubled peace and, in consequence, of rapid growth. The "penal laws" were not enforced by the Roman Government. Both provincial governors and local magistrates refrained, so far as we know, from exercising their customary power of arrest and repression, the "coercitio." There is indeed a tradition which ascribes the martyrdom of St Apollinaris to the reign of Vespasian, but this is late and worthless. Ravenna could not be expected to deny to its famous Saint the primary honours of martyrdom but chose its date badly.

Titus again is said to have regarded Christianity as a pestilent offshoot from a pernicious stock, and, by his destruction of Jerusalem, to have hoped that he had laid his axe to the root of the evil tree, expecting to destroy both Judaism and its rival together.[2] That after the sack of the holy city Jews felt increased hatred towards Christians, who had by the timely flight to Pella saved both themselves and their local church, is likely enough. But that the Roman general concerned himself gravely with any difference between the two creeds is unlikely. He *was* certainly gravely mistaken in his hopes.

Christian propaganda pursued its way vigorously and unchecked, all the stronger for its liberation from the restraints and narrowness dear to the heart of Judaic Christianity. The evidence from the distant province of Bithynia is striking. At the beginning of the second century, in A.D. 112, Pliny, its Roman governor, found occasion to report to the Emperor

[1] Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 4th ed. p. 252.
[2] So Sulpicius Severus. Cf. Ramsay, *op. cit.* XII, pp. 253–255.

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Trajan concerning the spread of the new religion in recent years in the province, which then, under the beneficent rule of Rome, was one of crowded, busy and prosperous Greek towns. The "contagious superstition," he wrote, was not confined to the cities, but had spread through the villages and the countryside. The temples of the gods had been almost deserted in consequence. This was deplorable. But his intervention was having the most encouraging results, the more easily as before his coming men were beginning to get tired of this new religion. He had great hopes that he would succeed not only in arresting the course of the plague but in curing it completely. Worshippers were once more thronging to the temples. Of those whom he had arrested on the charge of Christianity and examined not a few had recanted. "Some," he writes, "did ultimately admit that they had once been Christians, but asserted that they had now ceased to be of that persuasion, some for three years past, others for many years, and a few as long ago as five and twenty years."[1]

The testimony is quite obviously honest and equally obviously not of Christian manufacture. It throws an unexpected light upon one of the difficulties even of the early Church, that of indifference begotten of familiarity or boredom. Evidently however there had hitherto been no Government action to form one of the obstacles to a widespread diffusion of the faith in Bithynia, nor is there any reason to believe that in other equally peaceful and civilised provinces Christianity had not made equally rapid advance in the calm years which followed Nero's fury. The modern theory that Vespasian inaugurated a "short way with dissenters" is not justified by the evidence.[2]

It was not until the closing years of Domitian's reign that some clouds appeared upon the horizon threatening the tranquillity of the Church. And now ecclesiastical tradition indulges its taste for extravagance and exaggeration beyond all warrant. The Emperor becomes guilty of a "second persecution" and rivals Nero in cruelty. It was Melito, Bishop of Sardis fifty years later, who began this onslaught on Domitian's

[1] Pliny, *Ep. ad Traian.* 96, 6. There is a *varia lectio*, 20 (for 25) years.
[2] See my *Nero*, Appendix B, especially pp. 448–449.

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memory. Fierce Tertullian developed it. "Portio Neronis de crudelitate" he says of the Flavian prince, and Eusebius copies the language of the African: μέρος τῆς Νέρωνος ὠμότητος.[1] But the storm which broke upon the Church in A.D. 95 was in any case short-lived, as even Tertullian himself admits, and as certainly its violence was not directed of intention against Christianity exclusively as such. The supposed "second persecution" by Domitian became famous because it counted among its victims two or three persons who were of high birth and Imperial connection in Rome itself, not because Christianity was selected for persecution throughout the Empire. The *Acta S. Ignatii* does, it is true, extend the "procellae multarum persecutionum" to Antioch, but no man will credit such evidence.[2] According to the latest English authority, Domitian's was "not a general persecution at all, but a series of isolated acts directed chiefly against a few influential persons, including members of his own family."[3] The tale runs as follows:

Upon the fall of Jerusalem Vespasian had imposed upon every Jew an annual tax of two drachmas, and the proceeds of the new tax were to be devoted to the upkeep of the worship of Jupiter of the Capitol in lieu of that of Jehovah.[4] This tax, the "fiscus Judaicus," was the price of peace, and the Jew, however reluctantly he paid it, was in return left undisturbed in the practice of his religion. But evasion of payment was common, and Domitian, in some financial straits towards the end of his reign and seeking increased revenues, discovered to his lively indignation a large number of "persons living the Jewish way of life,"[5] who had escaped payment. To exact it rigorously, "acerbissime," in future was his instant decision. But at this point the financier seems to have yielded place to the moral censor or the "champion of orthodoxy." Domitian wanted money badly, and the more proselytes the more money.[6] But the Emperor none the less decided that proselytism was too

[1] Eusebius, *H.E.* III, 20, 7; 26, 9.

[2] Cf. Gsell, p. 306, note.

[3] Edmondson, *The Church in Rome in the first century*, p. 168; see note, p. 52.

[4] Suetonius, *Dom.* 12; cf. Gsell, p. 287; Josephus, *B.J.* VII, 6, 6, § 218; cf. Janssen, p. 59; P.-W. VI, p. 2403.

[5] But "inprofessi," i.e. uncircumcised.

[6] So Ramsay, *op. cit.* XII, p. 265. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, takes much the same view.

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rampant and must be roughly checked. Jews by birth he would leave alone so long as they paid their special "Jewish tax" properly. But propaganda must be stopped.

It was in this indirect way that the Roman Government came into conflict not only with Judaism but with Christianity, just in so far as those who "followed the Jewish way of life" without the justification of race included Christian converts as well as proselytes to Judaism. All such were equally "atheists" and to be punished for "atheism." The third-century pagan chronicler Dio Cassius declares that now "many" suffered upon this charge, being condemned either to death or to confiscation of goods and banishment. This late evidence concerning the number of the victims of Domitian's honest piety is at least uncorroborated. In any case, it does not justify the assertion that the Christians were the only, or even the chief, sufferers. That "the persecution has a very great importance in the history of Christianity"[1] it is hard to credit.

If indeed the Apocalypse bears its gloomy witness to Domitian's persecution rather than to Nero's; if St John's own banishment to Patmos befell in Domitian's later years in A.D. 92–93 and not twenty years earlier; if the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians with its mention of "the sudden and repeated misfortunes and calamities which have befallen us" is to be dated in A.D. 97 and not in February A.D. 70; there is indeed so much quite respectable Christian evidence of the violence and extent of Domitian's persecution. But the earlier dates are to be preferred, and all that is left as authority for the "squall of persecution" under the Flavian Emperor is too remote to be of value. Neither late Christian "Father" nor Byzantine historian carries weight.[2] Let who will credit the tale of a general persecution of Christianity under Domitian. There is at least even among the credulous no disputing the fact that such a persecution, if it did occur, was both very short-lived and of no lasting consequence.[3] And a disinclination to

[1] Gsell, p. 315.

[2] The earlier dates are Edmondson's (*op. cit.* chapters VII and VIII), and, for the Apocalypse, cf. my *Nero*, pp. 439–443, whose arguments for the earlier date are powerfully reinforced by Edmondson. Meyer prefers the later dates for the Epistle of Clement, and the Apocalypse.

[3] So Meyer, *op. cit.* III, p. 558.

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see in Domitian "the second great persecutor" scarcely amounts to "wrecking the foundations of ancient history."[1]

§ 2. *The victims.*

Concerning the name and the fate of those few prominent individuals who in Rome were victims of Domitian in this his supposed "persecution" there is certainty: concerning their religious tenets the certainty becomes probability at the best.

Vespasian's wife, Flavia Domitilla, died before her husband became Emperor. Besides the two sons, Titus and Domitian, there was a daughter, also called Flavia Domitilla after her mother. The name of her husband is unknown. This pair had a daughter who once again was given the same names. Flavia Domitilla the third, niece to Titus and Domitian, married Titus (?) Flavius Clemens.[2] This Clemens was himself the son of Flavius Sabinus, Vespasian's elder brother, and thus first cousin to Titus and Domitian, and cousin to his own wife. They had a family of seven children, of whom two boys were given the names of Flavius Vespasianus and Flavius Domitianus and were for some time regarded by the childless Domitian as heirs to his Imperial power. The learned grammarian Quintilian was assigned to them as tutor, and was duly rewarded by the Emperor for his onerous responsibilities in that capacity.[3]

The father, Flavius Clemens, was consul, with Domitian himself, for the four months January to April A.D. 95. Shortly afterwards in that same year, the Emperor's suspicions against both him and his wife, Flavia Domitilla the third, suddenly took fire. Details are lacking. They were accused of "atheism" and punished, Clemens by death, Domitilla by banishment to the melancholy convict settlement of the Island of Pontia.[4]

Atheism was a charge brought then against many others,

[1] As Ramsay, *op. cit.* XII, p. 259.

[2] Cf. P.-W. *sub voc.* "Flavius," No. 62, p. 2536. The attempts, ancient and modern, to make the Bishop Clement at least a kinsman of, if not identical with, the consul fail badly. The Bishop and writer of the letter was clearly of Greek origin. Cf. Meyer, *op. cit.* III, p. 554.

[3] Quintilian, *Inst. Or.* IV, proem. 2.

[4] Dio's "Pandateria" is probably a mere error, and not evidence of the hypothetical virgin Domitilla the fourth. See below.

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according to Dio Cassius, as we have seen, who had adopted Jewish customs. The contemporary Roman Suetonius, however, merely states that Clemens was a man of "utterly contemptible laziness," and that the Emperor's suspicion against him was based on very flimsy grounds—"tenuissima." Another writer, Philostratus, himself like Dio of third-century date (A.D. 217), has a curious phrase concerning Domitilla's fate which has received various explanations, both improbable and gruesome, from ingenious commentators.[1] The later Christian tradition of St Jerome kept her, a patient martyr, for many long years upon the sombre island, albeit within a year Nerva had allowed all Domitian's victims to return from exile.

Martyr, however, Domitilla claims to be. It is practically beyond dispute that she really was a Christian. The ecclesiastical historian Eusebius, relying on a certain "Brettius" or "Bruttius" as his authority,[2] confidently declares this, and we may accept this interpretation of her "atheism." Her husband's Christianity is in greater doubt. The charge of inertia does not prove Christianity, and Suetonius has told us nothing either of the atheism or of the wife. Only much later Byzantine invention definitely calls Clemens a Christian.[3] But let the wife carry the husband with her into the bosom of the Church and bestow upon him the yet greater guerdon of death for the faith, a death denied herself. There are few whom such a claim will irk.

It is at this point that a late and somewhat untrustworthy martyrology, the *Acts of Nereus and Achilles*,[4] of date about A.D. 500 introduces yet a fourth Flavia Domitilla, and, with her, no small confusion. For this Domitilla is a "virgin" martyr. Following a suggestion in Eusebius, a spirited modern attempt is made to clothe this shadowy figure with flesh and

[1] Domitian commanded her, three or four days after her husband's execution, "ἐς ἀνδρὸς φοιτᾶν"—to marry again? to join her husband in death? or worse? Cf. P.-W. p. 2735.

[2] There is not the least reason for the identification of Bruttius with Pliny's friend Praesens. That Bruttius is otherwise unknown to us is no evidence against Eusebius' authority (cf. Meyer, *op. cit.* III, p. 553).

[3] Syncellus, I, 650, 19; cf. P.-W. p. 2538.

[4] "Ganz legendarischen und geschichtlich wertlosen" (Meyer, *op. cit.* III, p. 553).

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blood as a sister of Clemens and daughter of Flavius Sabinus, in which case she shares her name with the three others, her aunt, her sister-in-law, and her young cousin. In the bestowal of girls' names there was a certain lack of inventiveness in the family. Small wonder that Philostratus in desperation calls the undoubted Flavia Domitilla the third, the exile, the "sister of Domitian" instead of "the niece."[1] It remains more probable that the fourth Domitilla, the virgin sufferer, is but a phantom begotten of the growing ecclesiastical dislike of marriage and curious exaltation of virginity, and that she may be refused leave to swell the meagre number of Domitian's Christian martyrs.[2]

Clemens and his wife Domitilla soon found an instrument of vengeance for their fate. For the Stephanus who, a few months later, was one of the Emperor's assassins was the lady's freedman. But probably private reasons rather than his master's death or his mistress' woes inspired his act.[3]

A long list is given of Domitian's distinguished consular victims. This includes C. Vettulenus Civica Cerialis, slain in his proconsulship of Asia (? A.D. 88); Salvidienus Orfitus, son of one of Nero's victims; Aelius Lamia, to whose fate Juvenal makes scornful allusion; Lucius Salvius Otho Cocceianus, whose kinsmanship with and fond remembrance of the dead Emperor Otho brought doom upon him; Lucius Pompusius (or Pompusianus) Mettius, of "imperial nativity," first banished to Corsica, and then, in A.D. 91, slain; Sallustius Lucullus, governor of Britain since Agricola's recall; Junius Rusticus, too much of a philosopher; Titus Flavius Sabinus, Domitian's own kinsman, consul in A.D. 82 and husband of Titus' daughter Julia—all these and others the Emperor at various times slew for reasons grave or frivolous.[4] But there is one, and one only, in the whole long list who, like Clemens and Domitilla, may have been a Christian and have suffered for his faith. This was Manius Acilius Glabrio, who shared the consulship with Trajan

[1] Or ? a mere textual confusion of ἀδελφὴν and ἀδελφιδῆν. So P.-W. *sub voc.* pp. 2732–2733.
[2] Cf. Edmondson, *op. cit.* p. 231.
[3] Despite Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* VIII, 25.
[4] Suetonius, *Dom.* 10, and Janssen's notes *ad loc.*

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in A.D. 91. In that year Domitian had compelled him, at the celebration at Albanum of the Juvenilia games, to strip and descend into the arena, there to contend with an enormous lion. To the Emperor's indignation and alarm Glabrio had slain the beast and emerged scatheless from the encounter. The human was the deadlier enemy. He was accused, according to one story, "like the others," of "atheism," or, according to the earlier version, of treason. He is counted by Suetonius among the "molitores rerum novarum," the "plotters of revolution." Perhaps one charge earned him his exile, the second his death. But the nineteenth-century finds in the Catacombs of Rome make it almost beyond doubt that Glabrio's "atheism" was in fact Christianity. The crypt of the Acilian family in the first-century Cemetery of Priscilla on the Via Salaria Nova claims Acilius Glabrio in probability for the new religion, as the Cemetery of Domitilla at the Tor Maroncia on the Via Ardeatina reinforces the tradition which makes Domitilla a Christian.[1]

This completes the tale of those who under Domitian suffered "for the name." Two seem certain, Domitilla and Glabrio, and their punishment was exile:[2] the Christianity of the third, Clemens, who was executed, remains unproven. It is not a long list on which to base the Emperor's hostility to the Christian Church. If indeed the later tale that "many" were punished for "atheism" be accepted, there are doubtless unknown Christians of low estate to be added to the three of nobler birth. Christians were perhaps among the very cobblers of whom the contemporary satirist writes so picturesquely. The illustrious and noble souls perished with none to avenge them, sings Juvenal:[3]

> Sed periit, postquam cerdonibus esse timendus
> Coeperat; hoc nocuit Lamiarum caede madenti.

[1] Cf. Dio, LXVII, 15; Suetonius, *Dom.* 10, and Janssen's notes *ad loc.*; *C.I.L.* XIV, 2392; Juvenal, IV, 99; Fronto, *ad Marc. Imp.* 37; Edmondson, *op. cit.* App. Note F, pp. 272 *sq.* and 279. De Rossi found the tombs. Cf. Ramsay, *op. cit.* XII, pp. 262–263.

[2] Domitilla of course could not be denied the greater triumph of death, which the later Christian tradition therefore bestows on her at Tarracina under Trajan!

[3] IV, 151–155.

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Such thoughts carry us back again to Neronian days and to the proud "not many mighty, not many noble" of one himself a tentmaker. But perhaps the chief interest for the history of Christianity which resides in the facts concerning the Domitianic "persecution" so called consists of this opposite lesson, that now at last the new religion was gently making its way not only into the slaves' garrets of the crowded city or the underlings' quarters in Caesar's household but even into the palaces of the nobility and claimed the adherence of the Emperor's own kin. And those of noble birth also stood firm and did not deny their Lord.

§ 3. "*The kinsmen of the Lord.*"

There is an old tale or legend, whether true or false, which suggests that Domitian's main concern in all his revenges was after all not religious but political. He dreaded men's ambition, not their zeal. It is told by Hegesippus, a Palestinian Christian who visited Rome some fifty years or longer after the Emperor's death, and runs as follows:

There were then still living grandsons of that Judas who, according to the flesh, was called the brother of the Lord. These some denounced as being of the seed of David. Whereupon Domitian sent a certain Revocatus, and by him these men were brought into the Emperor's presence. For he, like Herod at the first, was terrified concerning the coming of Christ.

Domitian therefore enquired of them whether they were in very truth of the seed of David, and they confessed it.

Then he asked them of their wealth and of the property whereof they were lords.

They made answer that the two of them owned nine thousand pence alone, of which sum each had the half. Neither was this in silver, but such was the value of their land, the nine and thirty acres which they worked with their own hands. And with its produce, they said, they both fed themselves and paid their dues.

Then to prove their daily toil they showed the Emperor their roughened skin and hard-knotted hands.

Being next asked concerning Christ, His kingdom, of what kind this should be, and whence and at what time it should appear, they answered that the kingdom was not one of this world nor any earthly royalty, but one heavenly and angelic, which should befall at the

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final consummation of the Ages, when Christ should come in glory to judge both the quick and the dead and to reward each man according to his works.

Whereon Domitian, finding naught in them to condemn, and scorning them as men of mean estate, let them go free, and made instant decree to stay the persecution of the Church.[1]

The "kinsmen of the Lord" were by admission Christians. Reassured concerning their insignificance, though they were of royal stock, Domitian pays no regard to their creed. The simple story tallies with the Emperor's character and with all else that is surely known concerning the Flavian attitude of indifference towards the Christian Church. Domitian was no Julian, nor may we, in spite of late ecclesiastical tradition, say of his reign what has been so eloquently written by our English historian of that of the last great open enemy of the Church: "Once more had the full wave of Imperial power dashed against the calm figure of the Christ, and once more it retired, not a fold of the seamless vesture disarrayed."[2]

Rather, with little to impede it save the conservatism or the passions of man, Christianity continued to spread quietly through the Roman Empire, avoiding the ruder frontiers, fastening tenaciously upon the crowded cities. Its very insignificance may seem not unblest. When in the later years of its triumph Christianity in high places becomes disloyal to its own essential doctrines of the freedom of the spirit and of sympathy with all men, it is then that faith may hardly escape shipwreck among the cruel rocks of ecclesiastical history. It was not in the early days of the Roman Empire that such perils, born of victory, threatened a religion, lowly, insignificant, despised, and threatened indeed if ever the Government should awake to the consciousness of its increase. What if its adherents were, like their Master, despised and rejected of men?

Whoso hath felt the Spirit of the Highest
Cannot confound nor doubt Him nor deny.
Yea with one voice, O world, tho' thou deniest,
Stand thou on that side, for on this am I.

[1] Eusebius, *H.E.* IV, 20. Cf. Gsell, pp. 313, 314.
[2] Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, I, 1, p. 21.

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NOTE TO §§ 1–3: *The evidence.*

ANCIENT:

Suetonius, *Domitian*, 10, 15, 17; Dio Cassius, LXVII, 14, 15; Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* VIII, 25.

(Christian): Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* III, 17, 18, 20, 26 (and Rufinus' Latin version of the same); id., *Chron. ap. Jerome*, ed. Schoene, III, p. 163; Lactantius, *De morte persec.* 3; Tertullian, *Apol.* 5; Orosius, VII, 10; Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.* II, 31; Joannes Malalas, X, p. 262 (a muddled story).

That Clement in *Ep. ad Corinthios, ad init.*, and in the prayer *ib.* 59 and 60, refers to Domitian is improbable.

MODERN:

Cf. especially, Gsell, *Domitien*, chapter X; Pauly-Wissowa, *sub voc.* "Flavius," pp. 2731–2735 and 2536–2539 (Nos. 62 and 225–227); G. Edmondson, *The Church in Rome in the first century* (Bampton Lectures, London, 1913), Lectures VII, VIII, and Appendices; W. M. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire* (4th ed. 1895), chapters XII–XV; and Eduard Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums* (Berlin, 1923), III, pp. 552–558. These supersede the older writers Keim, Renan, etc., for whom cf. my *Nero*, pp. 508, 509. I have found no reason to modify my dissent from some of Ramsay's views, e.g. his theory that it was Vespasian between A.D. 75–80, who inaugurated a new policy in regard to Christianity by first making the very "name" of Christian a crime, or his dating of some of the Christian documents such as the Apocalypse. The reasons I urged nearly a quarter of a century ago still seem to me valid (cf. my *Nero*, Appendix B, especially pp. 438–449). But Ramsay's famous books merit far greater attention and appreciation than e.g. Meyer bestows upon them. The German seems almost completely ignorant of the writings of such English scholars as Lightfoot, Ramsay, Hardy, and Edmondson. I have found in him one solitary reference to Lightfoot and one to Ramsay's *The Church in the Roman Empire*, and none at all to Ramsay's other works. The excuse which Meyer pleads for such omissions in his preface must, however, appeal to every hardworked college tutor.

For the genealogies of the Flavians, the Clements, and others, the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* is, as always, invaluable: e.g. Flavius Clemens (II, p. 66, No. 170), Flavia Domitilla (II, p. 81, No. 279). Edmondson with great ingenuity invokes the name and family of Marcus Arrecinus Clemens (consul A.D. 94) to explain some of the perplexities and contradictions in our ancient authorities. Those curious of such intricacies concerning Plautilla, Domitilla,

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and Clement the Bishop, may be referred to the theories set forth in his Bampton Lectures. They throw no great light upon Domitian's treatment of Christianity, though of interest for hagiographical purposes.

§ 4. *Trajan and the Christians.*

For completeness' sake, it remains to cite further the evidence concerning the existence of provincial Christianity and the attitude of the Roman Government towards it which is afforded by the interchange of correspondence between Pliny in Bithynia and his Emperor Trajan towards the end of the latter's reign. Both the governor's long letter and the Prince's brief reply are admirably plain and straightforward, admitting little doubt or discussion despite the wealth of commentary lavished upon them. The first letter has been already cited in illustration of the spread of local Christianity among Greek provincial cities during the Flavian period. The second main interest of these famous letters is that of Trajan's attitude to the religion. Both Emperor and many of the unknown Christians win equal praise from the story of the encounter, though the stakes at issue were not equal. And honest worried Pliny also earns some sympathy in his handling of an admittedly difficult situation. The letters, with this, may be left to speak for themselves with little further comment.

Pliny writes to Trajan:[1]

It is a rule, Sir, which I inviolably observe, to refer myself to you in all my doubts; for who is more capable of removing my scruples, or informing my ignorance?

Having never been present at any trials concerning those who profess Christianity,[2] I am unacquainted not only with the nature of their crimes, or the measure of their punishment, but how far it is proper to enter into an examination concerning them. Whether therefore any difference is usually made with respect to the ages of

[1] I use mainly Melmoth's translation in his 5th edition of 1770—which seems to me better than Rolfe's version in the Loeb Library. In a few places I have emended it. When I place the original in a note it is lettered M. The reference is *Epist. ad Traian.* 96 (M. 97). The literature upon the two letters is mountainous. For the latest comment and exposition cf. Meyer, *op. cit.* III, pp. 559–565.

[2] "De Christianis" simply. Evidently (*a*) there were such trials, but (*b*) not a great number of them.

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the guilty, or no distinction is to be observed between the young and the adult; whether repentance entitles them to a pardon; or if a man has been once a Christian, it avails nothing to desist from his error; whether the very profession of Christianity, unattended with any criminal act, or only the crimes themselves inherent in the profession are punishable;[1] in all these points I am greatly doubtful.

In the mean while the method I have observed towards those who have been brought before me as Christians, is this: I interrogated them whether they were Christians; if they confessed, I repeated the question twice again,[2] adding threats at the same time; when, if they still persevered, I ordered them to be executed:[3] for I was persuaded, whatever the nature of their opinions might be, a contumacious and inflexible obstinacy[4] certainly deserved correction. There were others also brought before me possessed with the same infatuation, but as they were Roman citizens I made a formal entry that they must be sent to the city.[5]

Soon, thanks to the very investigation, as usually happens, accusations multiplied and several new forms [of the mischief] came to light.[6] An information was presented to me without any name subscribed,[7] containing a charge against many persons. Those who upon examination denied that they were Christians, or had ever been so, having repeated after me an invocation to the gods, and offered religious rites with wine and frankincense before your statue (which for the purpose I had ordered to be brought together with those of the gods) and moreover having reviled the name of Christ[8] (whereas there is no forcing, it is said, those who are really Christians into a compliance with any of these articles) I thought proper therefore to discharge. Others denounced by the informer at first confessed themselves Christians, but immediately after denied it: they owned indeed that they had been of that number formerly, but asserted that they had now, some several years since, some as many as five and twenty years ago, forsaken that error.[9] They all worshipped

[1] "Nomen ipsum, si flagitiis careat, an flagitia cohaerentia nomini."

[2] This hardly amounts to Edmondson's "three cognitiones" (p. 139, note).

[3] "Immediately punished" (M.). "Duci" is stronger. Cf. Hardy, *ad loc.*

[4] "Pertinaciam et inflexibilem obstinationem."

[5] "Being citizens of Rome, I directed them to be carried thither" (M.).

[6] "But this crime spreading (as is usually the case) while it was actually under prosecution, several instances of the same nature occurred" (M.)—a poor version.

[7] "Libellus sine auctore," "A placard was put up" (Rolfe)!

[8] "Praeterea male dicerent Christo."

[9] M. goes badly wrong in his version here. The "index" is assuredly the anonymous author of the "libellus." I have emended it.

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your statue and the images of the gods, throwing out imprecations at the same time against the name of Christ.[1]

But they affirmed the whole of their guilt, or their error, was, that they met on a certain stated day before it was light, and addressed themselves in a form of prayer to Christ, as to some God,[2] binding themselves by a solemn oath, not for the purposes of any wicked design, but never to commit any fraud, theft, or adultery, never to falsify their word, nor deny a trust when they should be called upon to deliver it up;[3] after which, it was their custom to separate, and then reassemble, to eat in common a harmless meal.[4] From this custom itself too they declared they had desisted after the publication of my edict, by which, according to your orders, I had prohibited political associations.[5]

After receiving this account, I judged it so much the more necessary to endeavour to extort the real truth by putting two female slaves to the torture, who were said to administer in their sacred functions:[6] but I could discover nothing more than an absurd and excessive superstition.[7] I thought proper therefore to adjourn all further proceedings in this affair in order to consult with you. For the matter seemed to me worth consulting you about, especially because of the number of those in danger. For many of every age and every rank, and even of both sexes are and will be involved in the prosecution.

For this contagious superstition[8] is not confined to the cities only, but has spread its infection among the country villages. Nevertheless, it still seems possible to remedy this evil and restrain its progress. The temples, at least, which were once almost deserted, begin now to be frequented; and the sacred solemnities, after a long intermission, are again revived; while there is a general demand for the

[1] "Christo male dixerunt," "cursed Christ" quite simply.

[2] "Carmen Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem," "sang in alternate verses"—more correctly (Rolfe).

[3] "Seque sacramento...obstringere." The "sacrament" as used by Pliny must mean simply a "quasi-military" oath (Hardy). It seems unlikely that the Greek Christians used a word meaning rather the celebration of the Eucharist (and a recitation of the Commandments at it).

[4] "Ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium": i.e. *not* the Θυέστεια δεῖπνα of which, and worse, Christians were accused in A.D. 177 (Eusebius, *H.E.* v, 1), = the "flagitia" of Tacitus (*Ann.* xv, 44) and Pliny. The meal is of course the Agape or "Love Feast."

[5] "Hetaerias esse vetueram": *not* "the meeting of any assemblies" (M.). Trajan was notoriously nervous on this score, at least in Bithynia. Cf. *Epist. ad Traian.* 34.

[6] "Quae ministrae dicebantur." "Deaconesses" is irresistible.

[7] "Superstitionem pravam immodicam."

[8] "Superstitionis istius contagio."

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victims,[1] which for some time past have met with but few purchasers. From hence it is easy to imagine, what numbers might be reclaimed from this error, if a pardon were granted to those who shall repent.

Trajan replied to Pliny briefly and clearly:[2]

You have followed quite the right method, my Secundus, in dealing with the cases of those denounced to you as Christians. For it is impossible to lay down any general principle which can be put into any kind of final shape.

They are not to be sought out.[3] If they *are* accused and proved guilty, they must be punished—with this reservation though—that any one who denies that he is a Christian and proves this actually in fact, that is, by worshipping our gods, however suspect he may have been in the past, is to earn pardon by his recantation.

But anonymous accusations are not to be entertained in any accusation of any kind. For this would be a most pernicious precedent and, besides, it is not agreeable with the temper of our age.

"Sine auctore propositi libelli in nullo crimine locum habere debent. Nam et pessimi exempli nec nostri saeculi est." This is a great principle and one which does Trajan honour. So, as under Nero before him, as under Hadrian after him, "the Name" in Trajan's reign was in itself a crime.[4] Trajan's rescript did but repeat in this attitude the practice of past years. Yet the Christian's position under Trajan and, thanks to him, under his successors was less precarious than would have been the case if the Emperor had applied the rigorous logic of the law to the situation rather than shown a genuine dislike of heresy-hunting. "So far from entertaining this dogged purpose of stamping out Christianity, the Emperor betrays a temporising policy,

[1] The reading "passimque venire victimas quarum" is the Aldine (1508) correction of the first text (1502) "passumque venire victimarum cuius adhuc rarissimus emptor inveniebatur." The correction "passum" into "pastum" was suggested at once (1502) and would mean "the trade in fodder for victims is reviving" (Hardy), and does, despite Meyer's "sinnlos," make some sense. The Aldine correction clearly has no MS. warrant. Meyer has a long despairing note on the passage (III, p. 560), and thinks some word meaning "flesh" must lie hidden beneath the unmeaning "passum." Either the Aldine correction or Beroaldus' "pastum" gives a meaning which would gratify the local Bithynian farmer, whose dislike of the Christians must have been intense. The local priests' perquisites were also gravely affected.

[2] I translate this.

[3] "Conquirendi non sunt."

[4] See my *Nero*, pp. 446–449 and my *Hadrian*, pp. 224–225, and references in both books *ad loc.* This is also Meyer's view, *op. cit.* III, pp. 510–519.

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being desirous as far as possible to minimise the judicial proceedings against the Christians."[1] Only popular excitement from time to time, and that in some special locality, as at Lyons in the year A.D. 177, forced a governor's hands and disturbed the tranquillity of the Church for a brief space.[2]

Despite all modern discussion and research, our own times have improved very little upon the sagacious and learned comment by the eighteenth-century scholar:[3]

"If we impartially examine this prosecution of the Christians," writes Melmoth, "we shall find it to have been grounded on the ancient constitution of the State, and not to have proceeded from a cruel or arbitrary temper in Trajan. The Roman legislature appears to have been early jealous of any innovation in point of public worship.... It was an old and fixed maxim likewise of the Roman government not to suffer any unlicensed assemblies of the people.... From hence it seems evident that the Christians had rendered themselves obnoxious (not so much to Trajan as) to the *ancient* and *settled* laws of the State by introducing a foreign worship and assembling themselves without authority.

We are not therefore to judge of the proceedings in question by the rules we should apply to cases of the same nature in our own times. The established religion of the Romans was no other, in the judgment and confession of their best writers, than an engine of State, which could not be shaken without the utmost danger, or rather, perhaps, without the total subversion of their civil government.... Nor is this principle, if the observation of the celebrated Machiavel is just, peculiar to the Roman State, but of universal truth in politics; for he lays it down as a general maxim that 'wherever the Religion of any State falls into disregard and contempt, it is impossible for that State to subsist long.' This case therefore is to be considered in a civil, not a religious view; as a matter of State, not of speculation; wherein the lenity and moderation both of the Emperor and his minister deserve to be applauded, as they are neither of them for pushing the matter as far as they most certainly might, had they acted strictly up to the *ancient* and *fundamental* laws of their country."

[1] Lightfoot, *Apos. Fathers*: St Ignatius, II, p. 384. Cf. Meyer, *op. cit.* III, pp. 562–563. Hence the ludicrousness of the late *Acts of Martyrdom of St Ignatius*, both Antiochene and Roman, in their picture of Trajan as persecutor.

[2] Eusebius, *H.E.* III, 32.

[3] Ramsay's view, *op. cit.* pp. 356–359, may be compared.

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The latest historian who treats the question offers much the same defence of the attitude of the Roman authority.[1] Christianity was in itself a crime, like robbery or murder. But Trajan's "half-measures" win his approval, and the somewhat spasmodic prosecutions of individuals did but fortify and encourage the rapidly growing Church.[2]

"Had the Roman Government," writes the famous German historian, "when once it had become aware, in A.D. 64, that Christianity was a new religion and one different from Judaism, which it was its duty to punish as being hostile to the State, embarked upon a course of systematic persecution somewhat after the fashion in which the Catholic Church persecuted the Waldenses and took action everywhere so far as its power could reach by means of the Inquisition against all heretics, it would probably have been possible to extirpate Christianity completely or at least to reduce it to a tiny Sect which under lasting difficulties propagated itself painfully in isolated districts. But any such idea lay far beyond it and was remote indeed from the conception which the State had formed of its relation to religion."[3]

No Roman Emperor between Nero and Decius, not even Domitian or Marcus Aurelius, can justly be assigned any prominent place upon the sinister roll of religious or ecclesiastical fanatics. History has proved from time to time—despite Victorian illusions—that persecution, if thorough and relentless, has achieved its object. It is the half-measures which fail, when, in Tertullian's words, "semen est sanguis Christianorum."[4] The early Church owed some measure of gratitude to the Roman Emperors themselves.

[1] E. Meyer, *op. cit.* III. pp. 510–514.
[2] So both Meyer and Ramsay (p. 374).
[3] Meyer, *op. cit.* III, p. 552.
[4] *Apol.* 50.

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CHAPTER IV

PROVINCES AND PROBLEMS, EAST AND WEST

§ 1 Flavian work on the eastern frontier. [*Note to* § 1: Satala and Nicopolis.] § 2 Spain. § 3 The advance in Britain. § 4 Domitian and Agricola. [*Note to* § 4: The evidence for "Agricola in Britain."]

§ 1. *Flavian work on the eastern frontier.*

AFTER the fall of Jerusalem the eastern half of the Empire caused little anxiety to the Flavian Emperors.

Asia, in spite of a newly instituted "fiscus Asiaticus" (perhaps a poll-tax), was wealthy and prosperous.[1] It was on the Euphrates frontier that comprehensive changes, both administrative and military, were introduced by Vespasian shortly after his accession to power. The "modus vivendi" which Nero had finally established with Rome's great and formidable rival, Vologeses, King of Parthia, concerning the throne of Greater Armenia had one serious defect in the absence of any provision by the Roman Emperor for the guarding of the frontier by any legionary troops or camps on the Upper and Middle Euphrates north of the unwieldy command of the governor of Syria.[2] The whole frontier line north of Zeugma was left for its guarding to the vassal princes of Commagene on the south and Lesser Armenia on the north, between which princedoms lay the large "procuratorial" province of Cappadocia, whose administrator could only summon worthless local levies to defend the line of the river in case of urgency. In both Commagene and Cappadocia there was but one famous "crossing" of the Euphrates, at Samosata (Samsat) in the former and near Melitene (Malatia) in the latter. Samosata commanded the route of access into northern Mesopotamia, Melitene that into southern Armenia. Some sixty miles up stream from Melitene (above Keban Maden) is the junction of the two great branches of the Upper Euphrates, the "eastern" or "southern," that of the Murad Su, and the "western" or "northern," that of the Frat Su. The Frat Su, unlike the river below

[1] Cf. McElderry, *J.R.S.* III (1913), p. 121. [2] See my *Nero*, pp. 191–195.

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Malatia, can be crossed without great difficulty at various places along its course, the greater part of which marked the frontier line between Lesser Armenia on the west and the northern part of Greater Armenia beyond the river eastwards.[1] Yet, when Nero died, there was no legionary station to guard any part of the whole 300 miles of frontier line from Zeugma to the Black Sea.

This grave military defect of the Roman system, doubtless largely due to financial considerations, was at last remedied by Vespasian. In A.D. 72 he put an end to the petty princedoms of Commagene and Lesser Armenia. Antiochus IV, the deposed King of Commagene, like other petty potentates of the time, joined the ranks of *rois en exil*. The king's dominions were added to Syria, whose governor was therefore now responsible for the safeguarding of both the river-crossings into Mesopotamia, those of Zeugma and of Samosata. By way of relief the governor of Syria ceased at last to have any concern for the troublous land of Judaea to the south. Judaea, after A.D. 70, was placed under a legate of its own with a legion, Legio X Fretensis, under his command stationed at Jerusalem.

A new Flavian legion, Legio XVI Flavia Firma, was added to the Syrian army, and a great permanent camp was established for it at Samosata. So the doorway into northern Mesopotamia was now safely guarded, and could be opened from the Roman side at any moment, as Trajan later was to demonstrate.

Still more important were Cappadocia and Lesser Armenia to the north of it. Vespasian, according to Suetonius,[2] "added legions" to Cappadocia. What he very certainly did was to add the whole great country, including Lesser Armenia, to the direct administration of the governor of Galatia. This reorganisation lasted into Trajan's reign, when, e.g. we find P. Calvisius Ruso Frontinus governor of the whole united district.[3] And now legionary troops made their appearance on the upper river to stay there. Melitene became headquarters of the "Exercitus Cappadocicus," and a permanent camp here was

[1] For geography and further details, see my *Nero*, pp. 153–155 and its map.

[2] *Vesp.* 8.

[3] Dessau, *ap. J.R.S.* III (1913), p. 308.

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built for occupation by Legio XII Fulminata, where it had its abiding home for many a long year to come.[1]

Far to the north, in Lesser Armenia, there lay presently at Satala, a few miles south of the Upper Lycus valley, yet a third permanent camp, garrisoned by Legio XV Apollinaris, called there from Carnuntum on the Danube. It remains a matter of dispute whether this camp Satala (the modern Sadagh) was built first under the Flavians, or by Trajan, or by Hadrian. Its primary purpose was to secure the gateway into northern Armenia, as the great trunk road from Bithynia to Armenia and the East, in its eastern section, ran up the Lycus and by way of Satala. The camp here too must protect the Roman lands in northern Asia Minor from the ever-increasing peril of attack by the restless tribes of the Caucasus, especially the "Alans," who later troubled Hadrian's peace.[2] The whole eastern frontier of the Roman Empire north of Antioch depended for its safety on the three great "Castra Stativa," Samosata, Melitene, and Satala, each with its one legion. The first two at least must be confidently credited to Vespasian; Satala may be later. The general direction of all communications between Asia Minor and the East is always west and east, to Armenia, Mesopotamia, Persia. The three camps guarded the great issues and entrances, and no other defensive works were found necessary, when once each camp had its legionary garrison. By far the greater part at least of this frontier scheme is Vespasian's work, though it may not have reached its full accomplishment for half a century longer.

Camps and troops imply communications and roads. The road-building activity on the eastern frontier under the Flavian Emperors was marked. Two military roads at least joined Samosata to Melitene. From Melitene the road ran northwards up the Euphrates' western bank ("per ripam") to a station Analibla near Zimara (where the river valley of the Frat Su strikes up away eastwards making for Erzinjan and so to Erzerum). At Analibla the Roman road forked, one branch striking north-west to Nicopolis a little south of and guarding the Lycus valley, another north to Carsaga (Melik-Sherif) and

[1] Ritterling, *ap.* Pauly-Wissowa, *sub voc.* "Legio XII Fulminata."

[2] See my *Hadrian*, pp. 137–138, and below, p. 64.

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so over the mountain ridge and eastwards again to Satala. Two roads again connected Nicopolis and Satala, and from Satala ran a great highway northwards to Trapezus, Trebizond on the Black Sea. Much of this great "net-work" of roads must be due to the Flavian Emperors. The earliest of all Roman milestones discovered in eastern Anatolia is that found nearly ninety years ago at Melik-Sherif, which is of certain date, A.D. 76. Whether it belongs to the Melitene-Analibla-Carsaga-Nicopolis road, or to the Melitene-Analibla-Carsaga-Satala road, must be uncertain, as it was found at Carsaga. At least, if Satala camp itself and the legion there belong rather to Hadrian's than to Vespasian's times, the earlier Emperor was "paving the way" towards the final completion of the great system of Roman frontier defence upon the line of the Upper Euphrates. The great French savant and traveller, Franz Cumont, has quite recently summed the matter up succinctly:[1]

Vespasian took decisive measures to give to the frontier of Armenia a security which it still lacked. From Syria to the centre of Anatolia this frontier had now to be extended as far as the course of the Euphrates. Here, where the river became narrow, there was substituted for its stream the rampart of snowy mountains which bordered its upper basin as far as the frontiers of Pontus. A vast network of roads had to be made in order to connect these remote regions, still but little known, with the shores of the Mediterranean. This was the great work of the Flavians in Anatolia. To accomplish it, they brought the whole plateau east of the provinces of Asia and Bithynia under the authority of one and the same legate, and this immense district was soon threaded by great strategic roads.[2]

Greater Armenia in fact ceased now to be a cause of anxiety to the Roman Government and, many years later, Artaxata itself, its northern Capital, was held by a Roman garrison.[3]

[1] In his contribution to *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir W. M. Ramsay* (Manchester, 1923), p. 113.

[2] For the geography, roads, and evidence concerning the whole of this section up to this point see the special "Note to § 1, Satala and Nicopolis" with its sketch plan, below.

[3] For the vexillatio of the Cohors XII of Palmyrene archers here at the beginning of the third century cf. F. Cumont's fascinating account of the archer's painted shield found at Syrian Doura (Salîhîyeh) in the excavations of 1922 ("Fragment de bouclier," *Revue Syria*, 1925, p. 13). My best thanks are due to Mr J. A. R. Munro, Rector of Lincoln College, for acquainting me with both this and the other work of Cumont, the *Voyage d'exploration*, and with Mr Yorke's paper in the *Geographical Journal* (see note below).

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These measures of re-organisation, administrative and military, secured Rome's peace against her one doughty and historic antagonist Parthia so well that there was no longer the need for that constant diplomatic *finesse* in dealing with both Armenia and Parthia herself which had worried every Roman Emperor from Augustus to Nero. For the best part of a hundred anxious years the weakness of the Roman military establishment, the geography of the frontier district of mountain and river, and the overweening pretensions of the Parthian monarch had cost Rome dear in ever-recurring expenditure both of money and of lives, while Roman prestige ever and again had been most sorely shaken. It was no small part of the services of the new line of Flavian Princes to the Empire that a lasting solution of the "Eastern Question" was by them achieved. If in consequence of the large increase of the eastern army under Vespasian and his sons there was a proportionately large increase in the expenditure, at least these rulers thereby successfully averted the risks of war and its greater cost. It was indeed fortunate for the peaceful and prosperous Asiatic provinces of the Empire that at a time when the Roman Emperors' attention was fully engaged by the Rhine and Danube frontier problems[1] no new strife or cause of strife arose upon the Euphrates.

There is a curious remark in Pliny's *Panegyric on Trajan*[2] that his hero "when quite a boy" won a "Parthian Laurel." Trajan's father, M. Ulpius Trajanus, was legate of Syria in A.D. 76, and it has been inferred that King Vologeses of Parthia had invaded Syria in this year in resentment at the recent Roman annexation of Commagene.[3] This is the only hint of any hostilities between the two Empires in the Flavian period. Vologeses in fact was not at all anxious to renew a struggle with Rome, and about the year A.D. 88 he was persuaded to surrender up yet another "false Nero," one Terentius Maximus, who had appeared and was gaining some support in his dominions.[4]

This peace in the East under the Flavians forms so lively a contrast to the never-ending disquiet of the hundred years

[1] See below, chapters V–VII. [2] c. 14.

[3] Schiller, p. 513.

[4] Cf. my *Nero*, p. 420 and note; Suetonius, *Nero*, 57, and the discussion on the relations between Domitian and Parthia in Corradi, *ap. Dix. Epig.*, *sub voc.* "Domitianus," p. 1991.

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preceding that the credit for it must be shared between the sagacity of the later Princes and the energy of Nero and his great general Corbulo who had at last managed to impress the Oriental with the strength of Roman arms and the majesty of Imperial Rome. The peace was first rudely shattered by the warrior Emperor Trajan, under circumstances and for reasons later to be described.[1]

The Parthians' passivity is partly also explained by the appearance of a threatening storm-cloud in the wild north beyond the barrier of Caucasus which alarmed the eastern as well as the Roman ruler. The restless barbarians, the Alans, were in motion, and Vologeses actually appealed to Vespasian for a Roman expeditionary force to help him hold back the marauders. Greatly to the chagrin of his young soldier son Domitian, who begged to be given the command of such a force, Vespasian declined to intervene. In his old age he had no taste for cat-a-mountain adventures in the Caucasus. Probably also he shrewdly judged it better to keep the fretting ambitious lad at home in the palace under his own eye. It was enough to strengthen the garrison of Cappadocia, and so Satala fort may well have been planned later rather with a view to defence against the wild Pathans of the mountains than as a base of operations for any future invasion of northern Armenia. Roman troops were also sent in A.D. 75 to Iberia, the small midway district south of the Caucasus ramp, and assisted the king of that semi-independent district in the building of walls, doubtless precautionary measures against the peril from the north.[2] For the time being the storm seems to have passed away harmlessly.

NOTE TO § 1: *Satala and Nicopolis.*

REFERENCES:

(1) W. M. Ramsay, *The historical geography of Asia Minor* (London, 1890).

(2) Vincent W. Yorke:

(*a*) "A journey in the valley of the Upper Euphrates," *Geographical Journal*, Oct.–Nov. 1896, pp. 1–39, with maps. The date of the journey was 1894.

[1] See below, chapter XII.

[2] *C.I.L.* III, 6052.

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(*b*) "Inscriptions from Eastern Asia Minor," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XVIII (1898), pp. 306–327. This gives the finds of journeys, in 1890, 1891, made by Messrs Ramsay, Hogarth, Headlam, Munro, and a third, in 1894, by Mr Hogarth and himself (= (*a*)).

(3) J. A. R. Munro, "Roads in Pontus, Royal and Roman," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXI (1901), pp. 52–66, with map.

(4) Franz and Eugène Cumont, *Voyage d'exploration archéologique dans le Pont et la Petite Arménie* (Studia Pontica II, Bruxelles, 1906), with many maps. The date of the journey was 1900, the year after that of Messrs Munro, Anderson, and Welsh. Chapters VIII–X of this fascinating book cover the country traversed between Nicopolis and Trapezus (pp. 296–372; Maps XXII–XXVII). Satala itself is the subject of the first part of chapter X (pp. 343–351).

(5) Franz Cumont, "L'annexion du Pont Polémoniaque et de la Petite Arménie," *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay*, Manchester, 1923, paper VII, pp. 109–119.

Roman Satala lay upon the site of the modern small Turkish village of Sadagh, a poor hamlet of 150 houses, 6180 feet above sea level, in the valley of a small tributary of the Upper Lycus, the Sadagh Tchai. This stream flows into the Lycus some seven miles north of the village. Some ten hours' ride to the south, over the great mountain ridge of the Sipikor Dagh crossed by a modern Turkish military road over a pass 7580 feet in height (according to the great map in Lynch's *Armenia*), lies the Turkish town and army headquarters of Erzinjan, which played no small part in the military operations in the district during the Great War. This ridge of mountain forms the watershed between the Black Sea and the Persian Gulf, Erzinjan itself lying on the northern bank of the western branch of the Upper Euphrates, the "Frat Su," 3900 feet above sea level.

The identification of Satala with Sadagh is certain since the discovery there (by Yorke) of a few building tiles of the Legio XV Apollinaris, which lay at Satala from the camp's early days until the beginning of the fifth century. Five of such stamped tiles (according to Cumont such traces are "innumerable"—p. 345) are given by Yorke (*J.R.S.* XVIII, No. 36, pp. 321–322). The site has yielded a few inscriptions besides (e.g. *C.I.L.* III, Suppl. 6744), and one milestone which is illegible save for the one syllable IMP (Yorke, *loc. cit.* p. 324; Cumont, p. 351).

In itself the site was not by nature a strong one, though a hill spur between two streamlets gave an admirable position for a fortified camp (Procopius, *Bell. Pers.* I, 15; Cumont, p. 343 and his plan

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XXVII). It lay in a small plain surrounded by an amphitheatre of mountains. But it enjoyed an ample water supply (four arches of its ruined Roman aqueduct still exist), and Cumont dwells on its proximity to the rich fertile lands of Acilisene beyond the Sipikor pass, i.e. the great plain of Erzinjan. It is however in its road connections that Satala played its great part in the Roman frontier system and was the ancient military equivalent of Erzinjan today.

The Roman road system of Lesser Armenia and the Upper Euphrates frontier is not without its difficulties and unsolved problems. The majority of the stations given by the Antonine Itinerary and the Peutinger Table still defy certain identification. Ramsay has no personal knowledge of the Satala-Nicopolis district (*Hist. Geog.* p. 267) and Munro's farthest point east was Nicopolis. But the facts of the connection of certain places by some Roman road are beyond dispute though the actual course pursued by these roads is often very little known. It can however be taken as certain that Satala was connected with Nicopolis to the west by two main roads. The one is a direct route, seventy-six Roman miles in length, by Haza, Draconis or Ad Dracones (unidentified), and Olotoedariza (IIa on the sketch at end of this note). This road has not been found. "The Lycus valley from Satala to Nicopolis has never been properly searched" (Munro, p. 63). The other, a longer route to the south of the former, ninety-eight Roman miles in length, ran by Suissa and Arauraca (unidentified), crossed the mountain ridge to the south of the Lycus valley at some point to Carsaga or Carsat and then joined the shorter route at Olotoedariza, twenty-four miles west of Carsaga. This road has not yet been discovered—"a task for future explorers" (Cumont, p. 328). Two identifications by Cumont now hold the field, that of Olotoedariza at a spot half-way between Ezbider and Roufayé (plan XXIII), and that of Carsaga with Melik-Sherif, where the milestone of A.D. 76 was found (see below). At Carsaga a road struck off southwards by Sinerva or Sinibra (unidentified) to the Euphrates at Analibla (perhaps Hassan Ova—see Yorke's map) a few miles up stream from Zimara. At Analibla it joined a direct trunk road from Nicopolis (Yorke's III) and thence ran south making for the other two great Roman military stations on the Upper Euphrates frontier, Melitene (in Cappadocia) and so to Samosata (in Commagene).[1]

[1] The route followed by Cumont from Melik-Sherif over the Tchardaklu-Dagh by a pass which is 6700 feet high (or 7385 according to Lynch) and down the valley of the Tchardaklu-Su to Erzinjan, was probably *not* the course of the Roman Melitene-Satala road. The defile through which it passes is impracticable in winter, when the long détour round by Kemakh is necessary. At Analibla the Roman road (quite undiscovered, as has been said) must have left the Euphrates finally on its way to Satala.

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Nicopolis itself, so called from Pompey's victory over Mithridates, the modern Purk or Purkh, "the first focus of Greek culture in this remote district" (Cumont, *An. Stud.* p. 115), was a centre whence "a series of other roads went radiating out in all directions" (Cumont, p. 344). It lay in the Upper Lycus valley towards the eastern extremity of *the* great Pontic highway, the main northern trunk road from the Bosporus to the east (and the whole "long axis of the country lay east and west," Munro, p. 53), and the "short cut" thence to Zimara (viâ Analibla) "furnished the ordinary military communications with Melitene" (Munro, p. 64). The extension of Roman military influence still farther east to Satala by the two roads from Nicopolis now for the first time made the approach to Armenia proper, which Corbulo had found so difficult (his whole provisioning had to come from Trapezus on the Black Sea—Tac. *Ann.* XIII, 39), an easy matter at last. Satala's connection with the Melitene camp to the south by the road "per ripam" (its actual course from Zimara south is rarely discoverable) secured this whole Euphrates frontier line. Along this whole line Melitene-Satala, no Roman defensive works have been discovered, though the river in this stretch can be easily crossed at several places (unlike its course in the "great gorge" south of Melitene). It appears that, when once the legionary camps at Satala and Melitene were established, no danger of attack from Armenia was apprehended, nor for many a long year did such occur (cf. Munro, p. 65). Not even one milestone has been found on this Melitene-Satala road, unless one near Melitene (*C.I.L.* III, Suppl. 6893) and that at Melik-Sherif (see below) belong to it (cf. Yorke, p. 35, and *J.H.S.* XVIII, p. 319).

Finally, there must have been a road connection between Satala and Trapezus (Trebizond) on the sea coast seventy miles to the north.

So the military advantages of Satala become clear. "It watched effectively over the river valleys of Euphrates and Acampsis, and closed the entrance of the Lycus valley" (Cumont, p. 344). It lay on the route to the east "which was still much used until the middle of this century," offered advantages "as a starting-place for expeditions into Armenia from the north," and "lies on the natural road from Trapezus to the Euphrates and was thus open to communications with the sea" (Yorke, p. 38). And against any danger threatening from the Alans beyond Caucasus—who were a cause of growing disquiet to the Roman Emperor—Satala was an invaluable outpost (cf. Munro, pp. 62, 66; Josephus, *B.J.* VII, 7, 4).

What was the date of the building of the legionary camps, Satala, Melitene, Samosata, and of the road connections between the three and of the Nicopolis road system?

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Evidence is scanty, but the only serious difference of opinion concerns Satala itself.

It was certainly Vespasian who "addidit legiones" to Cappadocia[1], and who definitely annexed the vassal States of Commagene and Lesser Armenia in the year A.D. 72 (see Cumont for this date, *An. Stud.* pp. 114–115). The camp at Samosata in Commagene (now included in Syria) was garrisoned by Vespasian's new legion, XVI Flavia Firma (*C.I.L.* VI, p. 1404; Yorke, *J.H.S.* XVIII, No. 18, p. 315); that at Melitene in Cappadocia by the Legio XII Fulminata.

Both these great "castra stativa" certainly existed under Vespasian, and imply their connecting road or roads. Thus to the Roman bridge at Kiakhta midway between the two, though inscriptions connect it with Septimius Severus (*C.I.L.* III, Suppl. 6709–6714), an earlier and first construction under Vespasian (?) is ascribed by Yorke (*J.H.S.* XVIII, No. 20, p. 315). As Cappadocia is, according to Suetonius, to have "legions," and there is only one such legion at Melitene, it might be thought that the legion at Satala (counting Lesser Armenia now as part of "Cappadocia" for the purpose—both districts being now included in Galatia—a doubtful proceeding however!) accounts for Suetonius' use of the plural and that therefore Satala camp is also Vespasian's work (cf. Munro, note 3, p. 61).[2]

The position seems strengthened by the milestone at Melik-Sherif. This was first seen and published by Boré in 1840—so in his reading it figured in *C.I.L.* III, 1, 306. Cumont in 1900 rediscovered it and its reading is now improved and certain. It runs (Dessau, 8904) as follows:

Imp. Vespasiano Caesare Aug. p. m. trib. pot. VII, imp. XIIII, cos. VII, p. p. imp. Tito Caesare Aug. f. cos. V; Domitiano Caesare Aug. f. cos. II[II], Cn. Pompeius Collega leg. Aug. pro pr.

and on another part of the stone it bears the numeral III. Its date is the first half of the year A.D. 76 (not 75, as Mommsen originally). Cn. Pompeius Collega was governor of Galatia (cf. Dessau, 998) and the milestone proves that in this year there was road-making at Melik-Sherif, i.e. at Carsaga, at the junction of the Nicopolis-Satala and Melitene-Satala roads. This is certain.

The real difficulty however in ascribing Satala camp to Vespasian is the legion, Legio XV Apollinaris, with which it is associated, and no other legion is ever known to have been quartered at Satala. This legion, the creation in old days of Augustus, was in garrison at Carnuntum on the Danube (in Pannonia) probably as early as the

[1] Suetonius, *Vesp.* 8; cf. Tac. *Hist.* II, 8.

[2] So e.g. Cumont calls the two legions XV Apollinaris and XII Fulminata "Cappadocian Legions" in the time of Marcus Aurelius (*Revue Syria*, 1925, p. 13).

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reign of Tiberius, by A.D. 18 or even 14. It served with Corbulo on his eastern campaigns A.D. 63–66 (and so acquired some knowledge of Armenia) and subsequently in the Jewish war. After the fall of Jerusalem it was sent back to Carnuntum in A.D. 71 (Josephus, *B.J.* VII, 5, 3) where, under its legate Q. Egnatius Celer, it entirely rebuilt the old legionary camp in A.D. 73.[1] It probably fought in the Danube campaigns of both Domitian and Trajan, for it has left many inscriptions and many building tiles at Carnuntum, and the chief expert, Ritterling, declares emphatically that the majority of these belong to the period from Vespasian to Trajan. Hirschfeld's earlier attempt to date them all before Vespasian, by which Munro is attracted (cf. Munro, p. 62), is therefore definitely ruled out—both by Ritterling (Pauly-Wissowa, *sub voc.* "Legio," pp. 1747–1758) and by Kubitschek (Pauly-Wissowa, *sub voc.* "Carnuntum"). Legio XV therefore remains at Carnuntum until the reign of Trajan at least. Probably that Emperor called it to the east for the Parthian war, and it was first placed at Satala by Hadrian in his final organisation of the eastern frontier soon after his accession in A.D. 117, its place at Carnuntum being taken by Legio XIV Martia Victrix. If Satala camp was first built by and for this its legion, Hadrian and not Vespasian was probably its builder. Arrian places the legion at Satala towards the end of Hadrian's reign (*Exp. c. Alanos*, 5). To this effect Ritterling, Kubitschek, Cumont (p. 344), Yorke (p. 36). If this view be held, then the whole scheme for the new frontier may be of Vespasian's devising, and the road-building on a section of it was certainly begun by A.D. 76. Unfortunately the figure III on the Melik-Sherif milestone cannot be explained, and the stone may belong to the Nicopolis-Melitene road or some branch road (?) and not imply, as it is usually taken to imply, the Melitene-Satala road. There is certainly road-building going on in Cappadocia and Lesser Armenia under Domitian (*C.I.L.* III, pp. 312–318 and Yorke, pp. 36–37) though there is nothing to show from these inscriptions that Domitian "planned any of the roads on the frontier" (Yorke, *l.c.*). Cumont (pp. 325 and 328) gives the execution of Vespasian's road-building plans to his two sons. There was much road-construction under Nerva, but this was upon a section of the great trunk road much farther west, especially between Khavsa and the Roman bridge over the Halys (Munro, p. 164). Satala camp Cumont ascribes to Trajan (p. 344). The passage quoted above (p. 62) from Cumont thus gives what at present is the accredited view of the Flavian policy and its road-making. Munro argues (p. 62) that "if Tacitus' words in *Hist.* II, 6—'quidquid castrorum Armeniis praetenditur'—may be pressed

[1] *C.I.L.* III, 11194–11196.

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there were camps along the frontier before there were legions." "That," he adds, "is probable enough."

Certainly, in view of Vespasian's road-building and annexations, there is an "antecedent probability that Vespasian planted a legion at Satala" (Munro, p. 62). Only—what legion was there to plant, if Legio xv is quietly at Carnuntum? And the theory of an empty camp at Satala does not appeal to me. In spite of Tacitus (or because of him) it is "consequently improbable." It is not very wise to "press" Tacitus in matters military.

At least we may accept Cumont's statement (*An. Stud.* p. 115) that the conquest of Greater Armenia was effected by the legions of Trajan without difficulty because it had been prepared by the engineers of the Flavians.

Satala presently became a "colony" (Yorke, *J.H.S.* XVIII, No. 41, pp. 323–324). Justinian rebuilt its fortifications in A.D. 530, completely destroying all the camp's earlier buildings (Procopius, *De Aed.* III, 4) Soon after his death the town perished, and its name is never even mentioned by the historians of the Middle Ages (Cumont, p. 346).

The centre of Lesser Armenia and of its Caesar-worship and the place of its own Council—Koinon—which it possessed (although administratively part of the larger province Galatia or (later) Cappadocia) was Nicopolis, also a colony with "ius Italicum." Cumont has very recently published an inscription showing this and also the existence here "towards the end of the first century" of an "Armeniarch," or chief-priest for the Imperial cult, the first such Armeniarch, he being one Julius Patroeinus (Cumont, *An. Stud.* pp. 115–118). It is interesting to note that Latin inscriptions become proportionately more numerous than Greek the nearer we approach the actual frontier line of the district (Cumont, p. 119). Hahn long ago pointed to the Roman army as one of the two main "Romanising" elements in the Greek east (the other being Roman Law).[1]

There seems a slight risk of confusing Armenian Satala with another Satala in Lydia, i.e. Sandal by Kula, thirty miles east of Sardis. They are, e.g., confounded in the Index to Ramsay's *Historical Geography*. The worship of the Goddess Anaitis is common to Lydian Satala (Ramsay, p. 131; J. Keil, *ap. Anatolian Studies*, p. 250) and to Eriza=Erzinjan near Armenian Satala (Cumont, p. 338). Lydian Satala had its Christian Bishop (Ramsay, p. 131). Is it quite certain that the Bishop of Satala present at the Council of Nicaea hailed from Armenian Satala—as Cumont declares (p. 345)?

[1] L. Hahn, *Rom und Romanismus im griechisch-römischen Osten*, Leipzig, 1906. On Latin as the language of the army in east as well as west and as used in all maps supplied to the troops' leaders for campaigns and journeys, cf. Cumont, *Revue Syria*, 1925, p. 14.

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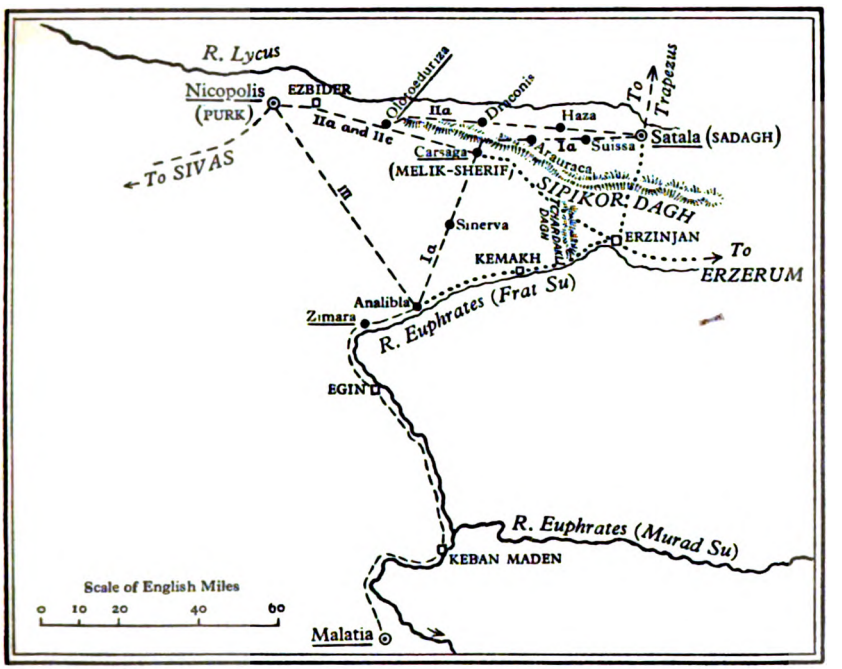

NICOPOLIS, SATALA, AND THE UPPER EUPHRATES

Connection by Roman Roads (actual course uncertain)	– – – – –
Modern roads or routes	-------
Only the sites of the Roman towns or stations which are underlined thus are known	Zimara
Modern names thus	SADAGH
The numerals Ia, IIa, etc. are Yorke's, showing the roads in the Antonine Itinerary	

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§ 2. *Spain.*

It cannot be said that the operations and reconstructions of peace are either of smaller importance for human life and happiness or less attractive of attention during the last half century of historical research than are the destructions and incidents of war, except when some great soldier Emperor, a Caesar or a Trajan, outrages the proportion whether in literary record or in the interest excited. Yet, in the quieter days of the Flavian Princes as in those of Hadrian, administrative ability has enjoyed rather a passive than an active admiration, and thoughts have turned to those districts where the Roman eagles advance, a Britain, even a Germany, rather than to those other greater happier lands, the immense bulk of the Roman world, wherein it was the tax-gatherer's rather than the soldier's energy which maintained the Empire.

A recent study of "Vespasian's reconstruction of Spain" may serve if not as a corrective of this most natural tendency, at least as a quiet haven for a brief respite before we embark upon the stormy history of the frontier wars.[1]

The rapid Romanisation of Spain in the first century of our era is notable. At last the seed so long dormant in the bleak soil sprang up and bore rich fruit, and a Sertorius, a Pompey, a Caesar may have smiled in the Shades to learn of the results of their labours which in their lifetime had seemed so short-lived. The famous bestowal by Vespasian in A.D. 73–74 of "Latin rights" upon Baetica was both a recognition of the culture now achieved by the inhabitants and an incitement to its further diffusion. If the character of soil and climate and the somewhat intractable nature of many of the natives still hindered Spain from claiming part in the eulogy by a Roman in Nero's day upon Provence, "Italia verius quam provincia,"

[1] The remainder of this brief section is for its facts wholly derived from Prof. McElderry's articles in the *J.R.S.* VIII (1918), pp. 53–102, IX (1919), pp. 86–94. The same writer has also written a few suggestive pages on Vespasian's work in Africa, *ib.* III (1913), pp. 122–126. It is all very good work. The subject has also recently been treated at some length in J. S. Reid's *Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, 1913, pp. 229–245.

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at least the Spaniard now becomes Roman, and soon a little Spanish town, Italica near Seville, is to bestow two of the greatest of her Emperors upon Rome.[1] Severus the dour "African," good work though he did, is a gloomy contrast to Hadrian "the Spaniard."

So, in particular, towns and town life developed in Spain under the Flavians. "Urbes renovatae cultu egregio."[2] At least fifty new towns are enumerated. Within the decade A.D. 74–84 as many as 350 municipal charters for "Latin municipia" were granted, all presumably on a model, of which three precious fragments, two at least of Domitianic date, remain.[3] Latin was of course the official language, and spread at the expense of the native tongue. Caesar-worship was officially established for Baetica at Corduba. It is strange that this, the southernmost of the Spanish provinces, was the last in Spain to be endowed with this remarkable institution; for in Latin culture it had long since outstripped its neighbours Tarraconensis and Lusitania.

Vespasian further revived the office of "Praefectus orae maritimae," with headquarters probably at Barcino. Like the much later "Count of the Saxon Shore" in Britain, this prefect was charged with the duty of guarding the coast against piratical descents and of safeguarding mariners against wreckers, though he was not given any "standing Spanish fleet" to help him.

Finally (and here again an "epigraphic" is added to a more human interest),[4] to Vespasian probably was due such a re-organisation of the mines of Spain that for long years to come the land is the Eldorado, or the "Peru and Mexico" of the Roman world.

Gold in great quantities, silver with its attendant lead, tin, iron, copper, cinnabar, quicksilver, were all rich and plentiful products of the Spanish mines. The British mining industry (happy islanders!) was so far checked in consequence that the

[1] Cf. my *Hadrian*, pp. 9–13.

[2] Aurel. Victor, *Caes.* IX, 8 (Vespasian).

[3] For Salpensa, Malaga, Urso (? now re-issued with adaptations), cf. E. G. Hardy, *Three Spanish Charters*; and the *Companion to Latin Studies*, § 546.

[4] The Lex metalli Vipascensis, granted to the mining community at Vipascum (otherwise not mentioned) near Aljustrel in south Portugal (Dessau 6891).

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Cornish tin lay untroubled beneath the surface of western moor and sea, and the British production and export of lead were limited by law, lest the profits of the Spanish mines should suffer. Even the bleak Mendips had reason to rejoice in all the more untroubled peace.

The mines in Spain were State property. The Emperor leased them for working to contractors, companies big or small, following in this a practice familiar to the business men and investors of the Roman Republic. The lessees had to make an initial payment to the Treasury and paid mining royalties to the extent of half the ore produced. There was a general Imperial law for mines. By it the miners, who were partly free men and partly slaves, enjoyed or were supposed to enjoy (so far as law could ensure privileges without inspectors to enforce it) not a few advantages from the providence of State ownership. The contractors must supply baths, laundries, shoemakers and barbers for the miners' benefit. Even school-masters were to be encouraged for the children in the mining villages. There seems no regulation of the hours of work, nor any control of wages, minimum or maximum. Yet it may be that at least free men among the Spanish miners of the Flavian era had a partial joy in life which their fellows in the Laureion silver mines of Attica five hundred or more years before, if not those in Britain in this our own troubled day, might have reason to envy. Strikes at least must have been unknown. Unluckily there is nothing to show how much leisure the miners had or how they chose to employ it. The gold, silver, and copper passed into the Imperial Treasury. The surplus of lead and tin not used for military and domestic purposes was exported to India in exchange for the pearls and precious stones, the silks and tapestries of the Orient. The ports of Tarraco and Gades were crowded with shipping. No small part of the luxury and the wealth, much indeed of the lasting prosperity of the Roman Empire, was due to the miner's work in Spain.

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§ 3. *The advance in Britain.*

The Roman governors of Britain in the half century following the accession of Vespasian to power in A.D. 69 were the following:[1]

A.D. 69–71. M. (?) Vettius Bolanus.
A.D. 71–74. Q. Petillius Cerialis Caesius Rufus.
A.D. 74–78 (? 77). Sex. Julius Frontinus.
A.D. 78 (? 77)–85 (? 84). Cn. Julius Agricola.
A.D. 85 (? 84)–96. Sallustius Lucullus.
A.D. 96–98. Nepos.
A.D. 98–101. T. Avidius Quietus.
A.D. 101–103. L. Neratius Marcellus.
A.D. 103–109. P. (? T.) Pomponius Mammilianus Rufus Antistianus Funisulanus Vettonianus.

It is unknown who governed Britain in the latter years of Trajan's reign.

A policy of mildness replacing the severity of Suetonius Paulinus had quickly healed the wounds inflicted on the island by the rising of Boudicca and its repression in the year A.D. 60. Nero's last two governors, P. Petronius Turpilianus (A.D. 61–63) and M. Trebellius Maximus (A.D. 63–69), governed gently and well.[2] There was no more trouble within the Roman borders, and presently the advance into the unknown was resumed. York was occupied as headquarters for a legion, the Ninth, probably by Frontinus, and great part of Wales was subdued. Roads and forts multiplied. Then, in midsummer of the year A.D. 78,[3] there arrived in the island one Cn. Julius Agricola, the most famous of all the Roman governors of Britain. Such immortality has Tacitus bestowed upon him by his literary masterpiece, the *De vita Agricolae*.

Agricola, no Italian, but a native of Provence, of good middle-class bourgeois stock, was born at Fréjus in A.D. 40. His father became a Roman Senator, but died just after his only son's birth. His mother, Procilla, took the boy to Massilia where he

[1] Names and dates from D. Atkinson: "The Governors of Britain from Claudius to Diocletian," *ap. J.R.S.* XII, 1922 (1924), pp. 60 sq. Bolanus was the eighth governor of the whole list.

[2] See my *Nero*, pp. 216–219.

[3] Or 77. But I definitely prefer 78 for reasons suggested below, chapter V, § 4. There is as yet no certainty.

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had his schooling. The lad's interest in philosophy seemed likely to exceed the limits dictated by good taste. In matters of learning the Roman gentleman must curb a youthful enthusiasm.

> I took in all the new ideas at one time—human perfectibility now. The fact is, human reason may carry you a little too far—over the hedge, in fact. It carried me a good way at one time; but I saw it would not do. I pulled up; I pulled up in time.[1]

Sir James Brooke would have been a congenial spirit to the wise Roman dame Procilla.

The young Agricola was sent off to learn his military duties, and found himself aged twenty in Britain, the scene of his future glory, as military tribune on the governor's staff at the time of the great revolt of Queen Boudicca in Norfolk. Later, after holding magistracies in Rome in their customary succession, he came back to Britain in A.D. 70 as commander this time of a legion, the Twentieth, first under the mild Vettius Bolanus, then under another famous soldier governor, Petillius Cerialis. He had by this time lost his mother, who had been slain in her Riviera villa at Ventimiglia by the marauding sailors of Otho's useless fleet.[2] Returning once more from Britain in A.D. 73 or 74, he was enrolled a patrician by Vespasian and sent by him to govern Aquitania, a profoundly peaceful and settled province, which he administered with *bonhomie* and a punctual discharge of his duties during the years A.D. 74–76. In the latter year or the year following he returned to Rome and became consul at some time in the year A.D. 77.

Long before this he had married. His first child, a boy, born in A.D. 63 (or 62) died in childhood. His second was a daughter, born in A.D. 64. In his consulship the father betrothed and married her, a little girl thirteen years of age, to a rising young lawyer, one Cornelius Tacitus, in Rome.[3] Tacitus was to repay his girl bride's dowry in vigorous measure by his "pietas" to his father-in-law's memory. Then Agricola, immediately after

[1] *Middlemarch*, chapter II.

[2] See my *Civil War and Rebellion*, pp. 73–74.

[3] Such youthful marriages were not infrequent. Cf. Pliny, *Ep.* v, 16, for the "anilis prudentia," and "matronalis gravitas" of a solemn little girl of 12.

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the marriage, proceeded to Britain for the third time. The new governor had already had long experience in the island, and his appointment is one of many examples of the care exercised by the Emperor in his choice of men for high command.

Agricola was a patient and wise governor, and the natives under his rule had no reason to complain of Domitian's choice. But the brief, stock, almost jejune encomium with which his son-in-law dismisses the "civil" side of his governorship is significant of the fact that the man's real ambition was military conquest, not the humdrum justice of civil administration. Agricola was resolute from the first to complete the conquest of the land (presently proved to be an island), and Domitian approved an advance. Then, when all Caledonia admitted Rome's sovereignty, a neighbouring island to the west, scene it was evident of much petty quarrelling, could be easily thrown in as a savoury to complete the feast.

Seven long years the governor spent fighting. "The first chapter in Scottish history opens."[1]

In A.D. 78, the first year of his arrival, he completed the long-postponed conquest of North Wales by subduing the turbulent Ordovices and capturing Anglesey. Wales gave no further trouble to the Romans, and many small forts built earlier to hold the land down could presently be dismantled. In A.D. 79 the north-west of Britain as far as Carlisle was made secure, the Pennine Chain was pierced by a road, and perhaps a beginning was made of the forts built at some time or another by Agricola's orders along the Stanegate (such as Magnae and Corstopitum), i.e. along the line of the great wall which Hadrian erected after his visit to Britain in A.D. 121.[2] But neither here nor elsewhere, neither in this year nor later, did Agricola plant his forts as a defensive line marking a Roman frontier. His forts were devices to keep a watch upon recent conquests, or to serve as bases for future operations. As soon as they had served their turn they might be abandoned (as in Wales). Hadrian first was driven to "organise a scientific frontier," when the plan of the conquest of Caledonia was abandoned.

[1] Haverfield, *Roman Scotland*, p. 476.
[2] See my *Hadrian*, p. 161 and Note B.

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"Agricola's network of forts flung over a half-conquered country belongs to a totally different conception."[1]

In A.D. 80 Agricola for the first time penetrated Scotland, starting from Corbridge as his base, and reached as far as the mysterious "Tanaus," the "estuary," following the "east coast route." Tyne, Tweed, even Tay, lay claim to "Tanaus," but the Scottish Tyne at Dunbar seems the most likely. The large Roman earth fort at Newstead near Melrose (covering an area of fifteen acres), and that *en route* for Melrose at Cappuck near Jedburgh on Dere Street, are Agricola's work this year.[2] So the Romans were now well over Cheviot and reached the Tweed at least. Then, still advancing in A.D. 81, Agricola reached the northern isthmus, the line of Forth and Clyde.

The nineteen forts of the "Scottish Wall" of Antoninus Pius are strung along a line thirty-six miles in length from Bridgeness to Old Kilpatrick. That some at least of the nineteen were first built by Agricola's legionaries is certain. Such were Rough Castle, Castlecary, Bar Hill, where "the very handiwork of the Flavian troops has been laid bare," and Camelon near Falkirk, a mile north of the "Wall." These forts lay derelict when some sixty years later, about A.D. 143, Lollius Urbicus arrived upon the scene to build the "Antonine Wall" and by that barrier shut off the savage independent north.[3] It had never been in Agricola's mind to leave any Caledonian tribesmen their independence. From his new base forts he presently moved northwards once again.

But a whole year, A.D. 82, intervened before the army passed the line of new forts between Forth and Clyde. In it Agricola had transferred his attention to the south-west coasts of the newly enclosed land, and there may have been fighting in the

[1] Collingwood, *J.R.S.* XI, p. 65. The earliest fort at Ilkley is Agricolan (*J.R.S.* XI, p. 202; *ib.* XVI (1926), p. 135).

[2] J. Curle, *A Roman Frontier-post and its People*, 1911: cf. *J.R.S.* I (1911), pp. 134–137; Stevenson, *J.R.S.* II (1912), pp. 289–291.

[3] G. Macdonald: (*a*) *The Roman Wall in Scotland* (1911); (*b*) "The Agricolan Occupation of North Britain," *J.R.S.* IX (1919), pp. 111–138; (*c*) "The builders of the Antonine Wall," *J.R.S.* 1921, pp. 1–24. At the most recently excavated fort—Balmuildy—there are however no traces of Agricolan occupation, *J.R.S.* XI, p. 278. At Cadder, just north of Glasgow, is an inscription of L. Tanicius Verus, almost certainly one of Agricola's soldiers.

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neighbourhood of Dumfries. The scheme of a crossing to Ireland now presented itself to his mind, and some preparations were begun in the little sand-encompassed ports of the Lancashire and Cumberland coasts, of which sullen Usipi recruits from Germany were presently to have bitter knowledge.[1] Then, in A.D. 83, the general hastened back to central Scotland and the cry was Northward Ho! once more, from Stirling to the Tay and still beyond.

So Agricola entered upon his sixth and last campaign. It lasted till the summer of A.D. 84, and has left indisputable traces behind it in two of the great forts which he built and doubtless garrisoned strongly on his line of communications before he marched into the Caledonian wilds. These forts are those of Ardoch, seven miles north of Dunblane, half-way between this town and the Tay, and of Inchtuthill, on the left or northern bank of this river, seven miles south-east of Dunkeld. Somewhere beyond the Tay, perhaps at no great distance, the Caledonian army mustered. Agricola fought and won his one great fight, the battle of "Mount Graupius," surely a "real" if also a "literary" battle.[2] The short campaigning season of the north came to an end. The governor went back to the south, leaving his forts in all their new strength ready for the advance into Aberdeenshire and towards the northern sea next year. That advance was never made. In A.D. 85 Domitian's message of recall reached him. In bitter grief of heart he obeyed, as he had no choice but to obey. Northern Caledonia preserved its independence from Rome for ever.

§ 4. *Domitian and Agricola.*

"Perdomita Britannia et statim omissa."[3] Tacitus, in the lugubriousness of advancing years, makes an overstatement and with it gives an impression of the quick loss of ground won which has only slowly and of recent years been corrected.

For though Britain was never "completely tamed," there is accumulating evidence that Agricola's actual conquests were neither lightly nor precipitately surrendered. "What was 'let

[1] See below, chapter v, § 4.
[2] Despite Haverfield, *Roman Scotland*, p. 479.
[3] Tacitus, *Hist.* I, 2.

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slip' was not any ground that had been already won, but rather the opportunity of subjugating the entire island."[1] On Agricola's recall the Romans retired neither to York nor behind the Cheviots nor even to the Tweed. They clung fast and tenaciously to the ground won by the Flavian general. His forts, though threatened from time to time, even in some cases perhaps destroyed and rebuilt, still were the home of Roman garrisons for another thirty years. It was the fierce rising of the natives in the last years of Trajan's life which drove the Romans for the time being out of Scotland back to the Solway and the Tyne. The garrison of Britain, thanks to Trajan's call for troops, was then too weak to hold its own in the far north, and Hadrian submitted to what was in his day inevitable. To charge Trajan on this account with "follies," to impute to him an "unmeasured passion for conquest which exhausted the State,"[2] is once again to exaggerate the importance to Rome of the distant island beyond the narrow seas. This is a very characteristic if pardonable failure on the part of the British archaeologist to see things in their correct proportion. No one has more ingeniously excused it than has Haverfield himself:

> If we ask about the vitality of an Empire or the thoroughness of its machinery or the power of its statesmen to balance vigour with economy, the distant frontiers answer us....The centre must at times be sought on the circumference.[3]

But this *apologia* for a remarkable absorption of interest is not convincing. There was little likelihood that a halt after victory in distant Caledonia would react in any way upon Roman security in Britain proper or serve to encourage the dying aspirations of a "nationalist" party in the far greater and more important province of Gaul. It was in Gaul that, from the days of Julius Caesar to those of Honorius, there lay the primary importance of our small island to the great Roman Empire of which it formed so insignificant a fraction, that is, in its relation by way of contrast or example to Gaul. The centre of the Roman Empire never lay upon the British segment of its circumference at any time in the first three centuries of that Empire's history.

[1] Macdonald, *J.R.S.* IX, p. 133.
[2] J. G. C. Anderson.
[3] *Roman Scotland*, p. 488.

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Whether then Agricola should be permitted to complete his work and pursue naked Caledonian savages into their final lairs was for Domitian just a question of finance and of man-power. No one could doubt Agricola's ability to round off his conquests. No one could doubt that there was neither money nor spoil in the Highlands. And the troops which he wanted were also wanted elsewhere, and for more important work. A Scotchman's *amour propre* notwithstanding, the historian is bound to admit this.

Agricola's work in Britain was really finished when he had built his forts from Clyde to Forth, and further advance could yield no profitable conquest. Good land was then being won by Rome in Germany, and troops were sorely needed both on the Rhine and the Danube. Agricola did not leave Britain alone.[1] At the same time some eight or ten thousand men of the Roman garrison were transferred to the continental frontiers.

The plain man will conclude that about A.D. 85 the Roman Government could balance the needs of its diverse provinces, and exact obedience from the most distant of its frontier officials. Let us put that at least to the credit of Domitian.[2]

In any attempt to explain Agricola's recall and to justify it there is no need to belittle his achievements or damn him with faint praise. When Tacitus eulogises his engineering ability and insight he certainly was not disparaging his hero or by innuendo denying him the higher qualities required by a general in the field. "A first-rate commissariat officer and an engineer of remarkable skill,"[3]—this is meant to imply that he was nothing more, that he *was* "an indifferent tactician and perhaps not much of a strategist." "A cheerful optimist, whose enthusiasm caused him to underrate difficulties"[4]—this has a flavour of condescension about it, for which the critic fully atones by his following assertion, surely a true one, that "the

[1] An unhappy way of saying that Agricola was not the only Roman to leave Britain.

[2] Haverfield, *Roman Scotland*, p. 480. His "eight or ten thousand men" however seems derived from the Baalbek inscription (Dessau 9200) which is now preferably brought into relation with the expedition of 77 against the Bructeri and not with that of Domitian against the Chatti. See below, note at end of chapter v, § 2, p. 94.

[3] Haverfield, *ib.* p. 476; cf. *The Roman Occupation of Britain*, p. 113.

[4] J. G. C. Anderson.

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rapidity, extent, and permanence of his conquests as a whole are an unquestionable proof of military capacity."

But neither need we believe Tacitus when he avenges Agricola's disappointment on his recall by charging his Imperial master with jealousy, envy, and apprehension. The general was in the seventh year of his governorship, and had enjoyed a longer term of office than fell to the lot of most men. Part of the army of Britain was needed elsewhere, and the long aggressive campaigning in Britain must come to an end. It was natural and on all accounts desirable for Domitian to recall Agricola in A.D. 85. In schoolboy language, he had had a long innings and it was time to draw stumps. The game of war had to be played now on another and a larger ground, nearer to Rome and more important to her.[1] The question of "Man-Power" must always be borne in mind by those who study the military policy of the Roman Emperors. The Imperial army, largely for financial reasons, was so small in comparison with the size of the Empire and the huge length of its frontiers that the Roman War Office was compelled to be thrifty in the use of its available troops, and all the more so in an age when transport was difficult and "mobility" could not annihilate distance, as it does today. Hadrian's renunciation of Trajan's eastern conquests enforces this same lesson, as will be seen.[2]

Agricola handed over his province to his successor Sallustius Lucullus. He left it "peaceful and secure,"[3] and in this happy state it remained for many years. On his reporting himself, as bidden, at the Imperial palace in Rome by night, Domitian greeted him with "a hasty kiss," and no more. Agricola was speedily lost in the mob of courtiers. He lived for a few years longer quietly in Rome, disappointed of other office, pouring out his regrets into the attentive ear of his sympathetic son-in-law Tacitus. He died of illness on August 23, A.D. 93, happy in that his wife and daughter outlived him, unhappy only in that he failed to see "the light of this most blessed age and Trajan prince."[4]

[1] To continue the schoolboy language, Rome had not got a "Second Eleven" or at least two "First Elevens."

[2] See below, chapter XII, § 8.

[3] Tacitus, *Agric.* 40, 3.

[4] *Ib.* 44, 5.

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Quidquid ex Agricola amavimus, quidquid mirati sumus, manet mansurumque est in animis hominum, in aeternitate temporum, fama rerum. Nam multos veterum velut inglorios et ignobiles oblivio obruit: Agricola posteritati narratus et traditus superstes erit.

It is a noble praise and a fulfilled prophecy.

NOTE TO § 4: *The evidence for "Agricola in Britain."*

The flood of writing concerning Roman Britain runs fully and more strongly day by day. Already it sweeps away as débris much that was even "experts'" view in quite recent years. And a certain tendency to petulance and irritability on the part of archaeologists and experts in this subject seems almost, as it were, an unlucky heritage from Mr Jonathan Oldbuck of Monkbarns. I have therefore not myself ventured here to present more than the barest summary of historical probabilities. Unhappily one has to choose one of two rival chronologies, which, with temerity, I have dared to do. The student, justly dissatisfied with my summary and scanty references, will seek the ample fount of knowledge from which I myself have drawn and I hasten to express my indebtedness in chief to the writings of Mr Anderson, Mr Collingwood, Dr G. Macdonald, and Prof. Haverfield—and more especially among these writings to the following:

(1) *Cornelii Taciti De Vita Agricolae*, edited by H. Furneaux. Second edition revised and largely rewritten by J. G. C. Anderson: with contributions by the late Prof. F. Haverfield. Oxford, 1922. Introduction, pp. xxxii–lxxiii and Notes *passim*.

(2) F. Haverfield. "Roman Scotland." *Edinburgh Review*, April 1911. pp. 468–490.

(3) G. Macdonald. "The Roman Occupation of North Britain." *Journal of Roman Studies*, IX, 1919, Part 2 (published October 1921), pp. 111–138.

(4) R. G. Collingwood. *Roman Britain*. 1923. pp. 24–25.

(5) F. Haverfield's *Ford Lectures* on "The Roman Occupation of Britain," revised by G. Macdonald. Oxford, 1924. pp. 112–119.

I have given some other references in the notes.

Nemesim deprecor. The last word has *not* been said on the subject, either of Agricola or of "The Wall." Neither will it have been so said until Macaulay's New Zealander sits among the ruins of London. And even he too may be an archaeologist.

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CHAPTER V

THE FLAVIANS ON AND BEYOND THE RHINE

§ 1 Introductory. § 2 Vespasian's annexation of the Agri Decumates, A.D. 73–74, and the Romans on the Neckar. § 3 Domitian's war with the Chatti, A.D. 83–84. [*Note to* § 3: The evidence, etc.] § 4 The voyage of the Usipi. § 5 The revolt of Antonius, A.D. 88–89. § 6 The consequences of the revolt. [*Note to* §§ 5 *and* 6: Evidence for the revolt of Antonius.]

§ 1. *Introductory.*

ON its northern European frontier as elsewhere the Roman Empire was, as a French writer says,[1] "face to face with the barbarians." What were the causes in the remote depths of eastern Europe or on the steppes of Asia which set in motion wave after wave of tribal migration moving ever west and south we can never know of precise certainty. Over-population, the greed for land, the very love of roaming, all bid mankind go wandering. Rome's Imperial frontiers were the one stout rampart for all Mediterranean civilisation. Upon this rampart there came foaming and breaking the tide of savagery sweeping forward out of the dark. Presently, after long centuries of defiance, that flood swept over the barrier and submerged European culture in the gloom of the "Dark Ages," not indeed in some one wild year of ruin, but now here, now there, sapping, undermining, leaping, storming, drowning wide plains, eddying round islands of civilisation still surviving above the flood for periods long or short. So came, flooding in, the barbarian main. In the third century of our era the great Roman dyke in Europe was first broken beyond repair, and the centuries which followed completed the ruin. There were some who ascribed the decline and fall of the Empire under the blows of the immigrant tribes to the softness and lack of national vigour born, said they, of the new religion, Christianity, with its feeble sense of the reality of mundane interests and its anaemic international outlook. There were others who, like Saint Augustine, provoked to wrath by this attack, stoutly defended

[1] Émile Thomas, *Rome et l'Empire aux deux premiers siècles de notre ère* (Paris 1897): an excellent little book.

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the religion, assailed in their turn moribund Paganism, yet provided no remedy for the dying world other than hopes of a better in some spiritual City of God. So the individual sufferer won, it might chance, his consolation even when his villa fell in flaming ruins upon his head and his children were haled away to doom. But the State perished. A more prosaic, albeit a clerical, modern writer finds the cause of Rome's failure to guard her long line of frontier in a shortage of men and an inadequacy in munitions of war and defence.[1]

Credit is due to the earlier Emperors of Rome for building the rampart of defence so stoutly that it defied so long the remorseless, if intermittent, onslaughts made by the German and "Sarmatian" savages upon it. Doubtless the personal interests of a prince prompted an energy, a foresight, a sagacity which the magistrates of a Republic, had that Republic survived, had been unlikely to show. And there were those, the princes in particular who form the subject of this book, who scorned to act upon the defensive only, who advanced the eagles beyond the natural frontier line of Rhine and Danube, who annexed wide tracts beyond the rivers, and guarded them with forts, troops, colonists. Their work it was which stemmed for many a happy year the onrush of the barbarian. Two of these great princes of Rome, true successors of Julius Caesar, claim the chief meed of praise for such work done. The earlier of the two, Domitian the Red, has been denied it by the envious genius of the great historian Tacitus, his contemporary, and now in these latter years he is only slowly coming to acquire a reputation for labours beyond the Rhine which he justly should have earned eighteen hundred years ago. The later, Trajan, has never been denied fame's glory, albeit his achievements on and beyond the Danube are too often obscured by the mirage of his short-lived triumphs in the Orient. It is one main purpose of this book to narrate, as fully as the meagre evidence allows, the work on European frontiers of these two great Emperors of Rome.

In the first half of the first century of our era the peoples of

[1] So the Dean of St Paul's, recently. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, suggests many causes at very great length.

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the forest lands of central and northern Germany gave the chief, almost, in Europe, the sole concern to the rulers of Rome. The defences of the Lower Rhine were the main objects of their regard ever since the melancholy day of the "Clades Variana," the annihilation of Varus' three legions in the year A.D. 9. Punitive or exploratory expeditions might still push eastwards to catch sight of the lonely river waters of Weser or of Elbe. But the prudent sagacity of Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius, and, under the last-named Emperor, the claims on man-power made by the invasion of and steady advance in Britain, called a halt to projects of annexation beyond the Lower Rhine. The Roman Imperial Army was, to an extent almost beyond belief in these our days, so small and so little capable of expansion in strength that Rome now depended always rather on the efficiency of the troops than on their numbers for her successful wars and annexations. In particular it appears again and again how closely such successes in Britain and in Germany, or again on the Danube and on the Euphrates, were inter-related. Advance in Britain meant a halt in Germany. It has already been seen that under Domitian an advance over the Rhine meant a corresponding check to Roman enterprise in Caledonia. Similarly under Trajan the legions which stormed the Dacian fortresses might help to sack Ctesiphon, but not until their work beyond the Danube was done. Parthia might have saved Dacia, as the Dacian monarch knew.[1] Man-power, not envy, dictated a warlike Emperor's foreign policy. The War Office is always more likely to realise this elementary fact than is the contemporary historian.

Thus the attention of the earlier, the Julio-Claudian, Emperors was fastened first upon the problems of the Lower Rhine and, presently, upon Britain, and not without a close association of these together. The tribes beyond the Upper Rhine and north of the Upper Danube had happily been for the most part quiet since the death of Augustus, except when some restlessness on the part of the Dacians in Transylvania had called for passing note. Rome had been able to advance her arms and her civilisation to the two rivers unimpeded. Advance beyond

[1] Pliny, *Ep. ad Traian.* 74. Cf. below, chapter XII, § 2.

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them seemed both unnecessary and likely to be unremunerative.

The bitter Civil War in A.D. 69 and 70, the firstfruits of Nero's death, and the dangerous mutiny of the German armies which then befell, a mutiny not dissociated from nationalist aspirations after independence in Gaul as well as in Roman Germany, had, it is true, set the whole Rhine frontier afire from the northern sea as far south as Mainz and beyond. Rome's grip of the frontier seemed shaken and the peril imminent. The course of these events I have narrated elsewhere.[1] But the danger was to be found in the ranks of the native army which Rome maintained to guard the northern frontier of the Rhine rather than among the innumerable free tribes beyond the river. With the final victory of Vespasian and thanks to his organisation the German peril seemed to have passed away. By the end of the year A.D. 70 peace had once more settled down to brood over the Roman fortresses on the Gallic side of the Rhine.

It remained for the new Emperor and his sons in their turn to determine what action, if any, Rome should now take upon the German frontier. And it is in fact their work here which constitutes one of the main glories of the Flavian period. Unhappily, as has been already suggested, the literature of their own days passes by these princes' work in Germany with scarcely a remark. There were excellent reasons for this disparagement by silence. No great Roman general here led troops to victory against an embattled foe. Domitian himself can scarcely claim so magniloquent a description save in the shouting mouths of the Forum mob, greedy of triumphs, an object of disgust and loathing to the polite Senatorial society of the Capital. And it was just this cultured and envious class which created and dictated the literary tradition of events. The bourgeois Flavians found no bourgeois writer to celebrate their deeds whose literary skill should give his writings the least chance of survival. Two famous writers there were of that period, the one a master in the art of literature, the other a rhetorician. Neither had any wish to celebrate a Flavian Emperor's deeds.

[1] In my *Civil War and Rebellion in the Roman Empire.*

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Tacitus is far too jealous for Agricola's fame and for the repute of his hero's deeds in Britain to accord more than the tribute of a passing sneer, a sneer unfounded and untrue, as will be seen, to the work of the soldier Emperor Domitian whom he hated so fiercely.[1] And Pliny, most silken and wordy of panegyrists if most estimable of men, must disparage the dead Prince whose place his own hero Trajan takes, in Germany as elsewhere.[2]

Yet the sober truth emerges, dug up, as it were, from the very soil of Germany in our own lifetime. Here on this German frontier, in this Flavian period, there was real annexation, real advance, real peril to Emperor as to the soldiers whom he in person led. Here too there was rebellion, barbarian attack, reprisal. And here, above all, there was the fortification of a long frontier, not the building of a frontier defence like Aladdin's palace in a night, but the long tedious process of experiment, adaptation, forts, watch-towers, lines of connection, roads, earth forts, stone forts, forts selected and presently abandoned, forts sacked, rebuilt, strengthened—the Roman line steadily advancing eastwards—all the whole story of a great Imperial work to the poor extent (dramatically) to which the untiring spade of the excavator can disclose it. The fruits of this labour of excavation, of a German patience and assiduity so wonderful that the many elaborate and lengthy monographs devoted to the description of its results[3] serve rather to obscure than to illuminate its merits, overwhelm us with detail. They are eked out by such scanty other information as Roman writers and inscriptions may supply. Thanks to the thirty years of German labour, to which the Great War put an end, we have a new picture made possible of the Flavian work in Germany, but, alas, a picture constructed of veritable earth and brick, lacking the colour and the life which only literary genius can supply. No glorified savage or mythical king, no Arminius or Cymbeline, strides across the dingy muddy page of this record of Rome's work on her northern frontier "en face des barbares."

The tale, such as it is, falls into four sections, namely:

[1] *Agricola*, 39. [2] *Panegyr.* 12 and 16.

[3] i.e. 44 *Lieferungen* and 14 *Berichte* of the Reichs-Limeskommission up to date (1926). See note to chapter VI, § 4.

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Vespasian's annexation of the Agri Decumates; Domitian's wars with the Chatti; the rebellion of Antonius; and the fortification of the frontier. The last must carry us far into the depths of the second century.

§ 2. *Vespasian's annexation of the Agri Decumates*, A.D. 73–74, *and the Romans on the Neckar.*

The river Rhine some seventy miles west of its exit from lake Constance turns abruptly northwards, thence to pursue its long course to the northern sea. In the great angle (or salient) thus formed by the river lies the Black Forest, and in the recesses of the Forest's hills are the sources of the rivers Neckar and Danube. A line drawn from Baden-Baden, hard by the Rhine, to Ulm on the Danube may be taken to represent the base of a triangle whose sides are formed by the former river on the west and the course of the latter on the south and south-east. It was this area which Vespasian annexed half-way through the course of his short ten years' reign.

The actual northern limits of the annexation are however too sharply determined by the imaginary line so drawn. There remains some doubt as to the distance down the Upper Neckar penetrated by the Roman advance. In all likelihood this indefiniteness was part of the Emperor's design. There was no need to set definite limits at the outset of the enterprise. Similarly the actual determining motive in Vespasian's mind remains undiscovered and undiscoverable. Here at any rate there was, as it were, a "bay" of independence penetrating deep into Roman territory. Strategically, if it were cut off by such a new base line, and if the new line were fortified (the event proved such fortification unnecessary), the line of frontier became shorter and sounder than that of the huge re-entering angle formed by the Rhine before the annexation.

No positive peril, however, from the area itself dictated Vespasian's decision to annex. The district was at the time most sparsely inhabited. No particular tribe owned it. No Roman knew who claimed to possess it. It was a "debatable land," had there been any to debate its ownership, "dubiae possessionis solum,"[1] veritably a No Man's Land, and had been

[1] Tacitus, *Germ.* 29.

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so for a century and a half. "The silence that fell upon the land was unbroken, and so little anxiety did it cause to the Roman commanders on the Rhine that in A.D. 43 the legion which garrisoned Strassburg, II Augusta, was taken away and the legionary camp there stood empty until the year 70."[1] Perhaps it was the very re-establishment of a legion at Argentoratum (Strassburg) which called the Emperor's attention to the lonely forest-clad hills over the river and to the whole district here which the Romans nicknamed the "Tithe Lands," the "Agri Decumates," when they came within the grip of the tax-gatherer.[2] Land after all is land, and land of doubtful ownership, if acquired by the State, will pay taxes to its landlord as well as nourish good sturdy farmers, veterans of long service, and their hungry children. "Lucri bonus est odor ex re qualibet" wrote the cynical poet of the day, Juvenal, and to Vespasian a field smelt as nicely as did some other sources of Flavian revenue nearer home. Therefore in the year 73 the Emperor despatched an expeditionary force over the river with orders to annex the district.

It was "at least more than a military promenade." There was a trifle of fighting, both in A.D. 73, it seems, and in the following year. The leader of the expedition was the legate of the military district of "Upper Germany" himself, one Cn. Pinarius Cornelius Clemens, who duly received triumphal insignia for his achievements. It is his proud record of the fact which gives us practically all the information which we possess concerning the advance.[3] The little white town of Spello in the Umbrian hill-set valley was thereby made proud of him. Under him there served as subordinate officers two brothers, Cn. Domitius Tullus and Cn. Domitius Lucanus, adopted sons of a famous orator, Domitius Afer. They too have stated in briefest shape the military honours won by them on this campaign in the inscriptions in which the neighbouring city of Foligno has glorified its "noble patrons."[4] The rest is silence. In such wise Vespasian came "to establish the Roman peace

[1] Pelham. The post-war (French) spelling is Strasbourg.

[2] There are difficulties in this interpretation—but its many rivals are all unpopular. See Koepp, *Die Römer in Deutschland*, p. 65.

[3] Dessau 997.

[4] Dessau 990, 991; cf. note *ad loc.*

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and Roman authority in a thinly populated district."[1] The word is given. The eagles cross the Rhine. The Agri Decumates are annexed to the Empire.

Certain measures of pacification and organisation followed promptly on the annexation. Others befell after long years of peace.

A Roman milestone of the year A.D. 74 found at Offenburg on the small Kinzig river half a dozen miles south-east of Strassburg shows the road-building by the general Clemens from this latter town to Rottweil.[2] This road led "in R.," i.e. either "in Raetiam" or "in Ripam (Danuvii)." As an Oxford professor[3] briefly remarks, "the two mean much the same." The name of Rottweil itself, Arae Flaviae, is proof of the speedy establishment here, as centre for the new district, of that familiar institution Caesar-worship which meant so much to the welfare and loyalty of the early Empire. The like device will be found presently in newly annexed Dacia.[4] No Roman province could dispense with Caesar-worship. Small wonder that fanatical Christians loathed it. At Rottweil again possibly, and certainly at Hüfingen *en route* for the legionary fortress Vindonissa, headquarters of Legio XI Claudia, and at Waldmössingen small earthen forts for auxiliary detachments were built. Such forts may also have been occupied at Offenburg and at Riegel on the Elz. Presently the frontier crept lower down the Neckar, and new forts of the same type made their appearance at Rottenburg and Köngen (Sumelocenna and Grinario). Of chief interest is an inscription found in distant Bithynia of a Roman who in his younger years had been, he tells us, procurator of the Saltus of Sumelocenna and of the "land within the frontier." This χώρα ἰντερλιμιτάνη (not ὑπερλιμιτάνη as it was at first misread)[5] shows that the new land was occupied by coloni

[1] Pelham.
[2] Dessau 5832 (now in the museum at Karlsruhe).
[3] Haverfield.
[4] See below, chapter XI, § 3.
[5] See the facsimile in *Bericht VI der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* (1910–1911), p. 151. Cf. also D. Atkinson, "An Imperial Estate in Germania Superior," *ap. Classical Review*, 1924, pp. 55–58. The fort at Offenburg is deduced from the fact that a centurion of Cohors I Thracum lies buried here. He entered the army at the late age of 42 and served in it 23 years before his death (*C.I.L.* XIII, 6286). That at Riegel is deduced from a large find of coins and pottery here, the latter of date Vespasian to Trajan or Hadrian. Koepp (*op. cit.* p. 113) has the old misreading.

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Caesaris. This was probably the land lying between the first (Vespasianic) and the later (Domitianic or Trajanic) "Limes" of the new territory. Its coloni paid their rents to the Imperial Treasury through this Imperial financial agent (a system familiar to us in Roman Africa). A century or longer passes, and the Saltus becomes "a full-blown civitas with magistrates." It is quite significant proof of the thin population of the district upon annexation that the new municipality takes its name not from any tribe but from the town. For commonly elsewhere in Roman Germany, with the perhaps solitary exception of Baden, it is the tribe which, as also in Gaul, bestows its own name upon the civitas. The civitas is just the "communal capital."[1] In the Agri Decumates we infer there existed no natives numerous enough to give their name to the chief Roman settlement. Roman annexation was all the easier in the Black Forest and on the Upper Neckar.

So the settlers pushed their way down this river. The first line of occupation may have run up the Kinzig river and across the watershed to a point near Sulz on the Neckar.[2] The somewhat precarious evidence derivable from broken pottery shows a steady advance from this point down stream. There is also a milestone of Hadrian's reign, of date 129, at Köngen.[3] And in due course when the advanced line of the Antonine era guarded the entire country to the east, as will be seen, the earthen forts established by the Flavians were evacuated or at least the little settlements nestling under their protection lost their military character—a process repeated again and again upon other sections of this German frontier. Once annexed and established, the new land gave the Romans no trouble of any kind. The solitude they, it seems, found and had no need to create. It became a peace, but a solitude no longer.

North of the Black Forest it was also under Vespasian, and not improbably it was a consequence of the annexation of the Agri Decumates that the Romans occupied a few stations on the east bank of the Rhine between Strassburg and Mannheim and

[1] Haverfield, *Class. Review*, 1914, p. 171.
[2] See below, next chapter, § 3 (ii).
[3] *West-Deutsche Zeitung Korr. Blatt*, 1900, p. 33.

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pushed up the lower course of the Neckar itself to the neighbourhood of Heidelberg. Such new forts east of the Rhine were those of Knielingen (west of Karlsruhe), Hochstetten opposite Rheinzabern, and Hockenheim opposite Speier. No actual evidence of a fort, Vespasianic or otherwise, has yet been found at Baden-Baden itself. It is a probable theory that these new little forts east of the Rhine on the fringes of the Neckarbergland were linked with others of earlier, or perhaps contemporary, date on the west of the river by roads and guarded crossings of the river. But the speedy advance of the frontier line eastwards under Domitian made such a system of communication superfluous for military purposes, and, if established, it was so short-lived that for the most part it has left no clear traces.[1]

Such an association of forts west and east of the Rhine seems rather different in character a few miles farther to the north where the Neckar flows into her greater sister stream. For the garrison of Rheingönheim is now moved forward to a new fort on the lower Neckar at Lopodunum (Ladenburg), a few miles down stream below Heidelberg, and Rheingönheim was probably evacuated in consequence. Here at Ladenburg a soldier of the garrison, Ala I Canninefatum, of Flavian times has left his record behind him in the shape of an inscription of his offering to the "Suleviae Sorores." These quaint domestic Valkyries, the "Sisters," also called the "Mothers," worshipped by this decurion, L. Gallionius Januarius, were popular divinities in the Rhineland, and elsewhere in the West. For it is a "citizen of Kent," Similis son of Attus, who worships them at Colchester.[2] In due course Lopodunum, in the reign of Trajan, found a garrison no longer required, and the erstwhile military settlement then took its place in peaceful civic life as the Civitas Ulpia Sueborum Nicretum, another of the innumerable instances proving the Roman army the pioneers of Roman civilisation and town life.

The fort now also established opposite Heidelberg itself at Neuenheim had a longer military life. Built first, it is likely,

[1] Cf. Barthel, *ap. Bericht VI* of the *R.-G. K.* pp. 127–134.
[2] Dessau 9323, 4777 and Index. Cf. below, chapter VI, § 5.

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also as a result of Vespasian's forward policy, it was garrisoned by Cohors XXIV. On the later fortification of the Main-Odenwald line to the east, this cohort was moved forward to Benningen, one of the forts of the new line. But its place at Neuenheim was taken by another cohort, II Cyrenaica, and Neuenheim remained a garrison till at least the latter years of the reign of Hadrian. Eventually this second cohort was in its turn moved up to Butzbach, one of the Taunus forts. The excavations at Neuenheim are still incomplete, despite its inviting presence "at the very doors of the University."[1]

One other incident closes the scanty record of Vespasian's work upon the Rhine frontier, and here for a moment we are recalled to scenes of ancient peril and gloomy if heroic memory. In the year 77 a considerable army was collected in Lower Germany under the command of C. Velius Rufus and Q. Julius Cordinus Rutilius Gallicus. To it came contingents (at least) drawn from the four legions of Upper Germany and from the four legions of Britain. The Lower German army supplied auxiliaries, and, specially, a strong body of cavalry. This army crossed the Lower Rhine and managed to capture that most troublesome German prophetess, Velaeda of the Bructeri,[2] the heroine of the campaigns of Civilis against Cerialis seven years before. Content with this considerable achievement the army, it seems, withdrew with its trophy. The "war" was over by March or April of the next year, 78. There were no further operations or troubles on the Lower Rhine, and the prophetess disappears from history, after exchanging her lofty tower and religious seclusion on the Lippe for the captivity and curious glances of Rome.[3]

[1] Barthel, *loc. cit.* p. 128.

[2] Velēda in Statius.

[3] Dessau 9052, 9200. Tacitus, *Germ.* 8; Statius, *Silvae*, I, 4, 89; cf. McElderry, *ap. J.R.S.* VIII, p. 58; X, pp. 76–78. This muster from Britain Dessau ascribes to Domitian's war with the Chatti. But this view of Inscr. 9200—the Syrian Baalbek inscription—that of Ritterling—is now rejected in favour of the Bructeri campaign of 77–78. Cf. J. G. C. Anderson, *ap. Tacitus, Agricola*, p. 172 (corrective of J. G. C. Anderson, *ap. Class. Rev.* 1920, p. 161), and R. G. Collingwood, *ap. J.R.S.* XXII, 1, p. 64.

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§ 3. *Domitian's war with the Chatti,* A.D. 83–84.

If Vespasian's annexation of the Agri Decumates and penetration up the Lower Neckar valley were easy and comparatively peaceful, there is a different story to tell concerning his son Domitian's warring to the north of the watershed, called the Odenwald, which separates the valleys of the Neckar and the Lower Main. But the tale must carry us far back to the beginnings of Roman acquaintance with this greater river and the pine-clad mountain slopes of Taunus on the north, some of the most beautiful of all the Rhineland hills.

It was in Augustus' reign that Drusus built a fort "on Mount Taunus." At Höchst a few miles up the Main are a few Roman remains, of Augustan date perhaps. At Bendorf again north of Coblenz on the right bank of the Rhine and near the river (though scarcely a "bridge-head")[1] are other such remains, perhaps of like date. At neither place are the remains distinctively military, and the site of Drusus' "praesidium" remains uncertain.[2] It is however clear that in the early years of our era the Romans from Mainz were already penetrating this district of the southern slopes of Taunus. The natives here were the small and more or less friendly tribe the Mattiaci. There was this reason for friendliness, that Romans on the river at Mainz meant a market and curious interesting wares in exchange for native products. Whether there was already so early a bridge of any kind over the river at Mainz is uncertain. The so-called "bridge-head" at Castel was "Castellum Mattiacorum," a fort clearly built to guard the passage of the river. The actual bridge has been ascribed to Augustus and also to Domitian.[3] There is really no evidence other than probability, which is in favour of the earlier date. Why should the Romans have waited so long before bridging the Rhine with one of those boat-bridges long since familiar to the Roman engineers?

[1] As Anderson, *Tacitus*, *Agricola*, p. 171.
[2] Höchst is a favourite identification. Cf. Koepp, p. 20.
[3] Corradi, p. 1978, thinks the stone bridge here was the work of Legio XIV under Domitian. See also below, p. 112.

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For long before the Flavian period the interest of the inhabitants of the great military fortress of Mainz had been excited in the district over the river. Just to the north of Castel, where the forest-clad hills break down to the levels of the stream, hot springs had been discovered and a small watering-place had sprung up at Aquae Mattiacae, known to bathers and invalids (and to the British garrison army) as Wiesbaden. And there was silver to be found in the hills above the settlement. Drusus' fort—take it to be at Höchst—made both bathers and miners the more secure. And the earliest earth fort excavated at Wiesbaden itself has been set in Caligula's day. Small forts also at Zugmantel over the crest of the Taunus ridge and at Friedberg, twenty miles north-east of Höchst, have been ascribed, somewhat hesitatingly, to these early Julio-Claudian times.

But all this Roman infiltration into Germany beyond the Rhine at Mainz was obviously for the best part of a century somewhat tentative, even timorous. And for this timidity, as for the early forts, there was very good reason. For there in the immediate "Hinterland" of Taunus and reaching back, how far no Roman knew,[1] into the unexplored impassable savage recesses of the Wetterau and the wild watershed between the Main and the Lahn lay a German tribe, the Chatti, the most powerful, the most warlike, the most feared of all the German peoples, a fierce and gloomy folk, as grim as their own black forests.

"They have close-knit limbs," writes Tacitus, "a menacing look, tougher frames and greater vigour of mind than have the rest of the tribes. They elect their own leaders and obey orders. They understand military drill and strategy. They have learnt how to hold back their attack, to portion out the day, to entrench themselves at night. All their strength is in their infantry. These carry heavy tools as well as weapons, and great weight of provisions also. Other tribes sally out to battle: the Chatti march to war."[2]

What a folk was this, whose youthful warrior might not shave until he had slain his first foe!

[1] The "capital" (*sic*) of the Chatti was Mattium, near Fritzlar, north of the Eder, beyond the reach of Domitian's troops. (Koepp, pp. 11, 37, 55.)

[2] *Germania*, 30.

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Not till they are bestriding their prey, the bleeding body of the slain, do they clear their faces of their mat of hair. Then and then only do they deem themselves to have repaid their parents' upbringing, then and then only to have proved themselves worthy sons of their fatherland. Cowards never shave.

Yet they gloried in their long flowing locks, and many a grey-haired warrior was conspicuous in the ranks of battle. Pathans of the hills beyond the Roman frontier, they had small zest for the pursuits of peace.

None of them have homes or fields or knowledge of any craft. Prodigal of their neighbours' goods, careless of their own, they go roaming, finding their food at any man's to whom they come, and thus live they until the pale decay of age misfits them for the hardy life of adventure.

The Romans had known the Chatti but too well for many a long year. Tacitus was not romancing. In the year 50 these tribesmen came raiding, burning, plundering, over the Rhine. As they returned homewards they were caught, laden with spoil, heavy with drunken sleep, by an enterprising Roman legate, Pomponius Secundus. Poet though the soldier was, he made the raiders pay dearly for their frolic. Then were recovered, so far from the scene of the great disaster forty years earlier, old weary relics of Varus' defeat, captives who had endured so long a servitude with the savages.[1] Twenty years more passed by, and the mutiny of the army on the Rhine gave the new generation of young warriors a chance and an invitation not for one moment to be resisted. Sweeping along with them their neighbours, Mattiaci and Usipi, a horde of Chatti crossed the Rhine again in 69 and dared even beleaguer the proud fortress Mainz itself. Then, laden once more with booty, albeit not without loss, the tribesmen withdrew once more to their remote hill-fastnesses.[2]

Vespasian took no notice. His Rhine army was busy farther south. But the memory of the insult rankled. Fourteen years later, in A.D. 83, Domitian, in the first pride of his new power,

[1] Tacitus, *Annals*, XII, 27–28.

[2] Tacitus, *Histories*, IV, 37. Cf. my *Civil War and Rebellion in the Roman Empire*, p. 284, for the effect of this raid on the course of the rebellion in Lower Germany.

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set himself sternly to reveal at last to these German savages the unconquerable might of Rome. Now it should no longer be a mere punitive expedition, futile of all lasting results, but a war which should advance the actual frontier of the Empire and pen the tribesmen far back within their more distant hills. And Domitian carried the work through.

The bitter or sceptical writers of Trajan's reign pooh-pooh the war with the Chatti as but a mock campaign. Domitian, they sneer, bought German "captives" in the market, with whom to grace the triumph which he celebrated at the end of the war. It was a stale gibe, somewhat like that of which Caligula, perhaps with more justice, had been made the victim.[1] But besides their safe hatred of the victor Emperor these Roman armchair critics had this to plead in excuse for their sorry estimate of realities and results, that in the war with the Chatti there was no single great pitched battle, no final victory on the stricken field, such as the soul of the literary man must love. No German "Battle of Mons Graupius" gave occasion to Roman and barbarian commander to deliver eloquent if lengthy harangues to their puzzled or dispirited armies. Kitchener's blockhouses seem but a cold revenge for Majuba. Paardeberg was a better one.

And yet in fact Domitian's was a good piece of military work well done and lasting in results.[2] The Emperor justly earned his triumph for campaigns won by himself in person and deserved the new title of Germanicus which commemorated his success. Detailed story of the war there is none. When the Imperial general was murdered and his memory became for all time dishonoured, no writer would waste time upon so unremunerative a subject as this. But a soldier, Domitian's contemporary, who had a taste for military history, has made mention of a scattered incident or two which befell in this "German War," and he, the able Frontinus, speaks with very genuine admiration of the Emperor's military skill. It is due almost exclusively to this writer that the following bare outline sketch of the campaign is possible at all.

[1] Suetonius, *Caligula*, 47.

[2] I do not understand why Von Domaszewski constantly depreciates it, unless his dislike of Domitian has carried him, like Tacitus, away.

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The Chatti were already "under arms" when Domitian decided to move against them. In fact the evidence of the spade and its discovery of burnt foundations seems to show that they had already, perhaps in A.D. 82, swooped down upon the few small Roman forts then upon their borders, massacred the handfuls of troops on guard within them, and burnt them to the ground. Domitian left Rome for the Rhine. But lest the tribesmen, excited by this news and by rumours of the muster of a Roman army, should anticipate attack and themselves raid over the river, the Emperor sought to allay their fears and delude them by making it known that his departure from Rome was merely for census purposes in Gaul. Caligula had employed the same device forty odd years earlier when he mustered an army in Gaul, intended for Britain perhaps or for a more secret purpose. There was another device also by which Domitian could hope to distract for the time being the attention of the Chatti. Fierce though their tribe was, they in their turn were not without apprehension of their neighbours. In rear of their country (on the mid course of the Weser) lay a weirder folk yet, the Cherusci, whose national hero Arminius became the Siegfried of German legend.[1] These were bitter and immemorial foes to the Chatti. The Roman saw no reason to disdain making a timely gift of money to the Cheruscan king, with intent that the latter might keep the Chatti perturbed and divided in their counsels until such time as the Roman army of invasion was ready.

This army, collected now by Domitian at Mainz, was a powerful force. The Emperor proposed to run no risk of check. There were to begin with the four legions of Upper Germany, namely I Adjutrix and XIV gemina Martia Victrix from Mainz, VIII Augusta from Strassburg, and XI Claudia from Vindonissa.[2] This force was strengthened by the addition of one or more Praetorian cohorts, marching with Domitian from

[1] Koepp, p. 45.

[2] It was during, and doubtless a result of the outbreak of, this war that Legio XXI rapax was called up from Lower Germany at Bonn to form part of the garrison at Mainz. (Cf. P.-W. *sub voc.* "Legio," pp. 1786–1787.) So for a few years there were five legions in Upper Germany, viz.: I, VIII, XI, XIV, XXI (P.-W. *loc. cit.* p. 1387), until I was moved in 85–86 to Dalmatia (probably) and XXI was sent to the Danube in 89–90. See below, p. 113.

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Rome, and a large detachment from one at least of the British legions, IX Hispana, under the command of L. Roscius Aelianus Maecius Celer, later consul in A.D. 100.[1] But Britain was not called upon for troops for this war to any greater extent.[2] Yet even this call, and the risk of further demands perhaps, may have checked in this year 83 Agricola's projects for a complete conquest of Caledonia or an invasion of Ireland. All manner of unresolved difficulties cling round the dates of events at this moment. It is certain that numerous auxiliaries of the army in Upper Germany were given their discharge on Sept. 19, 82.[3] It can hardly have been in this year that Domitian attacked or meant to attack the Chatti. Hence the governor of Britain must have been called on for troops from his Ninth legion in 83. It is at least clear, without at this point stirring up the hornet's nest of the controversy concerning the date of Agricola's arrival in Britain,[4] that Agricola felt his hands to some extent tied in Britain by the war with the Chatti in Germany. His grumblings were open and notorious. "I could have seized and held Ireland with a single legion and a handful of auxiliaries," he lamented afterwards to his sympathetic son-in-law Tacitus, and the latter looked with all the greater disfavour upon the Imperial expedition which robbed his hero of so glorious an added chance of fame. But Domitian had set his hand to a German war. Britain, or at least military enterprise in Britain, must as always pay part of the price for this. Thanks to Germany no Roman expeditionary force then violated the shores of Ireland. The one opportunity lost, no Roman army ever landed on the Irish shore.

To Domitian's legionaries were added the usual strong complement of auxiliary foot and horse and the engineers who, as in Dacia later, were so indispensable for road-making and fort-building in the forests. On the Emperor's staff there served a few men of known reputation and experience, such as Sextus Julius Frontinus himself (it is probable), the consuls Aulus Didius Gallus and Fabricius Veiento, Vibius Crispus and

[1] Dessau 1025, the Tibur inscription.
[2] See note, p. 94, concerning the expedition of 77 against the Bructeri.
[3] Dessau 1995.
[4] See Anderson, *Tacitus, Agricola*, App. I, pp. 167–173; McElderry, *J.R.S.* X, pp. 68–78; and below, § 4.

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Manius Acilius Glabrio. But, while only the pen of a hostile journalist could make it a reproach to the Commander-in-Chief that he directed operations from the rear, the war produced no general of outstanding reputation, such as a Corbulo or a Suetonius Paulinus. The luck of literary "survivals" has reserved the monopoly of military glory in the reign of Domitian to Julius Agricola, to Britain and not to Germany.

So the army marched with all due precautions and deliberateness up into the hills and forests of Taunus. The horses had a sorry time of it on the rough trackless hill sides among the pines and broken scrub. When the enemy met them, skirmishing in the woods, Domitian bade the troopers dismount and fight like the legionary on foot. Slowly he drove the Chatti back. They vanished in the remoter depths of the wild. Then the famous order was issued to "draw frontier-tracks 120 miles in length."

Frontinus' words "limitibus per centum viginti milia passuum actis" have received various other interpretations. One commentator would find in them but the blazing of many forest roads to a total length in all of 120 miles. Another, by an arbitrary tampering with the text, finds in them a great military frontier road of uncertain length but 120 feet in breadth.[1] Many also and unprofitable have been the measurements of 120 mile stretches in various parts of Germany. The distance does somewhat conveniently represent that of the German "Limes" from its start, the "Caput Limitis" on the Rhine by Rheinbrohl, round the northern slopes of Taunus and then south again to reach the Roman fort of Kesselstadt where the Kinzig flows into the Main. But if this is the best of the explanations of the 120 miles it certainly does not complete the story of the Emperor's "tracing of frontier-tracks," as will presently be shown.[2]

Then both along and within the new frontier line there was fort-building. The Romans had come to stay. One such fort is specifically mentioned by Frontinus, the "castella in finibus Cubiorum." For Domitian paid the natives a fair price for the

[1] W. Gebert, *ap. Bonner Jahrbücher*, No. 119, 2 (1910), pp. 189–190.
[2] See chapter VI.

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land within the fort's rampart of which he dispossessed them, and his generosity caused surprise and admiration. But the lucky Cubii defy certain discovery. This fort may have been Obernburg—or it may not.

Small earthen forts, themselves some 278 feet square, connected by fenced watch-towers, made a chain of outposts along the line, the "Gürtel-Strasse" round Taunus and Wetterau. In their rear, south of Taunus, larger forts were built, the largest perhaps 410 feet square, the four "Etappen-Kastellen" of Hofheim, Heddernheim, Okarben, and Friedberg, linked by roads both with the outpost forts and with the base fortress Mainz on the Rhine. The permanent garrisons of all these forts were auxiliaries, usually "Alae quingenariae," or "miliariae" in the larger. The legionaries remained, when the war was over, upon the great river. It was a well-devised comprehensive system whereby reinforcements could be moved up at short notice to any threatened spot. Slowly it developed and extended, as will later be shown. But for its planning and the first stages of its execution Domitian justly has all the credit. By it, in Frontinus' happy summary, the Emperor "changed the condition of the war and subjected to his sway the foes whose hiding-places he had laid bare."[1]

If the Roman line encircling the new annexations of Taunus, Wetterau, and Lower Main reached round as far south as Kesselstadt, there existed an obvious gap between these, Domitian's, acquisitions to the north and those of his father Vespasian, the Agri Decumates, to the south. To bridge this gap of 100 miles and link the two territories together, guarding its eastern frontier by some kind of a fortified line, was but a "logical consequence"[2] of the successful war with the Chatti. This also was, as will be seen, in part at least Domitian's work.

But at the end of the German war in 84 the time for this extension southwards had not quite come. Enough to digest and set in order had for the time being been taken. This fort-building was not the work of weeks.

The actual "war" seems to have lasted into the second year.

[1] Frontinus, 1, 3, 10.

[2] Stuart Jones.

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In the sixteen months between June 83 and September 84 Domitian received four acclamations as "Imperator" from his troops. The last of these salutations might well mark the conclusion of the treaty with the Chatti who now submitted sullenly and withdrew eastwards beyond the new line of Roman dominance. They were to try at least one more fall with the victor.

The hapless Mattiaci, ground between upper and nether millstones and involved helplessly in the war, hastened to profess and to observe the obedience demanded of them by the Romans. They remained dwelling in their former lands. But as penalty they paid the price commonly exacted by the extraordinary sagacity of Rome from the wilder folk whom she ever and again subdued and brought under her sway. Their young men were called upon to serve in the Roman army. A "Cohors Mattiacorum" was raised, and is found doing service under Trajan and Hadrian in distant Moesia. Ever since the lesson of A.D. 70 such auxiliary "national" regiments were not employed in or near their native land.[1] Similar treatment was meted out to the second small tribe involved in these disturbances, the Usipi. Hence the tale of an epic voyage, to be narrated immediately.

The poet Juvenal has associated with the Chatti as possible cause of alarm to Domitian and his Council another folk, the "tawny Sugambri."[2] This folk however dwelt to the north, between the Lippe and the Sieg, and of any share by them in this or in any other war of the Emperor's there is no other hint in extant record. The poet's evidence is worth little. What did he care where a German tribe might live, if its name suited a hexameter verse? Whereas "Marcŏmanni" were intractable in his satire. The poet's Sugambri are indeed less fortunate than Arviragus, his luckless charioteer of Britain, with whose invention we may credit Juvenal,[3] even though Joseph of Arimathaea converts him, a small boy surely, to Christianity in the sunlit vale of Avalon, and Geoffrey of Monmouth gives him Claudius' lovely daughter Genuissa to wed. Arviragus, Cymbeline's son, is thus claimed for British history by Shake-

[1] See my *Civil War and Rebellion in the Roman Empire*, pp. 329–331.
[2] *Sat.* IV, 147. [3] *Sat.* IV, 127.

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speare. The Sugambri, his yoke-fellows in the Roman satirist, may be left by the historian of Domitian undisturbed in their German abodes.

In the late autumn of A.D. 84 Domitian returned victoriously to Rome. There he celebrated a magnificent triumph with the gorgeousness of games and shows in which he, like the Roman mob, took special delight. And that mob acclaimed their Emperor enthusiastically and not undeservedly. In further celebration, he added the title "Germanicus" to his names, following the oldest of Roman Republican customs in this; stamped the legend "Germania capta" with mourning Germans on his coins;[1] and raised the pay of the legionaries from 225 to 300 denarii per annum. There also in Rome he encountered, besides the cheers of the populace, the resentment and whispered sneers of the literary clique. One over-bold critic, Ursus by name, would, it is said, have paid dearly for his temerity, had not the Emperor's own niece Julia, daughter of Titus, begged successfully for the silly fellow's life.

Then, when "the tyrant" was happily murdered, the critics had their way after all, and so successfully that it has been reserved for our own generation to rediscover the fact that Domitian did notable work for Rome on the distant northern frontier and to vindicate his reputation. Trite as the saying is, the pen had in truth proved mightier than the sword, and we are compelled to pay tribute in this to the genius of Tacitus.

NOTE TO § 3: *The evidence.*

ANCIENT:

Frontinus, *Strat.* I, 1, 8; 3, 10; II, 3, 23; 11, 7. Tacitus, *Agric.* 39; *Germ.* 29, 37. Pliny, *Panegyr.* 11, 12, 16. Dio Cassius, LXVII, 5. Suetonius, *Dom.* 6. Also allusions in the poets Martial and Statius.

MODERN:

The best and most recent treatment is to be found in the following (in order of date): (1) Kornemann, "Die neueste Limesforschung," *ap. Klio*, VII (1907), pp. 73 sqq.; (2) H. Stuart Jones, *The Roman Empire* (1908), pp. 135–138. (3) H. F. Pelham, *Essays in Roman History*, with a few additional notes by F. Haverfield (1911), pp. 189–192. (4) G. Corradi in *Ruggiero's Dizionario Epigrafico*,

[1] e.g. *ap.* Koepp, p. 54.

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sub voc. "Domitianus," fasc. 62, pp. 1976–1979 (1913). Above all however stands Weynand's article in Pauly-Wissowa, *sub voc.* "Flavius No. 77," vol. VI, pp. 2555–2559, with innumerable references to modern papers, a wonderful bit of work. Weynand knows the first 29 (out of 44) of the Lieferungen der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission, i.e. those published up to 1909.

Older accounts, especially Gsell's in his biography of Domitian, pp. 176–198 (of date 1894), are of necessity somewhat antiquated in view of the labours on the frontier of the last thirty years. None the less his is a good useful bit of work. I postpone references to this archaeological material to the end of the next chapter.

§ 4. *The voyage of the Usipi.*

A more whole-hearted tribute may be paid to Tacitus for his short epic, the "Voyage of the Usipi." Some introduction to it is necessary.

This small German tribe, the Usipi or Usipetes, dwelt originally among the flats and marshes of the Lower Rhine between the Lippe and the Yssel. But soon after the middle of the first century of our era they had, it seems, for some undiscoverable reason drifted or been driven southwards to find a new abode in the valley of the Lahn. Here they were near neighbours of both Mattiaci and Chatti, whom they joined in the raid on Mainz in the year 69. Thirty years later they are still "proximi Chattis." That part of the tribe remained behind on the Yssel when the rest went wandering is an unlikely modern theory, invented to explain a chronological perplexity.

For Domitian, we are told, levied a "Cohort of Usipi," the rawest of raw recruits, and sent them to Agricola in Britain in the sixth year of the governor's command in the island. Controversy rages as to whether Agricola first arrived in Britain in the midsummer of 77 or of 78. Experts incline now to one year, now to the other.[1] The coming of the Usipi is one of the elements of an undetermined problem. For clearly Domitian was

[1] 77, chosen firmly by J. G. C. Anderson, *ap. Class. Rev.* 1920, pp. 158 sqq. But then—78, as firmly by McElderry, *ap. J.R.S.* X, 1, pp. 68 sqq. Correspondence ensued. Anderson was shaken, inclining however still to 77. Cf. his masterly summary of the problem in his *Agricola*, Appendix I (1922). Collingwood, *ap. J.R.S.* XII, 1, p. 64, hesitates, but has "a faint preference" for 78. Earlier views need not detain us. Throughout the struggle the Usipi are lively shuttlecocks between the players.

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master of the tribe when he haled their young men off to a hated service overseas. If Agricola reached Britain in 77 the Usipi were sent to him in 82. How is this possible? The war with the Chatti did not begin till 83. Surely the levy of the cohort was one of the results of the successful campaigning of that year? The Usipi, like the Mattiaci, submitted and paid the same price for peace. But if this befell in 83, then Agricola did not reach Britain until 78. Now Tacitus, if indeed he is quite honest in the matter, does seem to bring Agricola in hot haste to Britain immediately after his period of office as consul in Rome. Concerning this same consulship two hypotheses (both uncertain) find common favour. *If* the consulship was but of two months' duration, and *if* it befell in the spring of the year 77 (certainly it was at some time in this year), this will leave just time for Agricola to collect his retinue and travel fast through Gaul to cross to Britain while, at least, summer there still lingered. Later than August, in our northern island, the "midsummer" of his arrival can hardly be placed.

In this scheme too much insistence may have been placed upon a solitary Latin word,[1] and Agricola, after his consulship in 77, may have journeyed comfortably and with no undue haste across Gaul in the spring of the following year to arrive in Britain duly at midsummer—a real midsummer. In this case the levy of the cohort of the Usipi as firstfruits of the German war in 83 presents no difficulty. But those who prefer the date 77 are driven to some straits to explain such a levy in 82, when, as has already been seen, Domitian was freely *disbanding* many veterans from the auxiliaries of the army of Upper Germany.[2] It has also been suggested that the cohort was raised from the Usipi who had remained, *ex hypothesi*, upon the Yssel.[3] This at least is not an acceptable view. When a small tribe migrates it is not intrinsically probable that it leaves part of itself behind and in such vigorous independence that this part is able to produce some 500 sturdy young warriors a quarter of a century later. Who tended their babyhood?

[1] The "statim" of *Agricola*, c. 9, § 7—which indeed refers rather to the marriage of his daughter than to his consulship. Cf. Anderson, *ad loc.*

[2] See above, p. 100.

[3] McElderry, *loc. cit.*

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How then could Domitian have "rounded up" an independent tribe and compelled it to send its young men to learn both a new drill and a new loyalty overseas in 82? It became very clear, as will be seen, that the young men had not the least desire to go.

And yet, if we choose to shut our eyes to this difficulty, this, in itself the less likely, date, 82, has one element of attractiveness in it which has not, I think, hitherto been noticed. It supplies what so far has been sadly lacking, a reasonable motive for the restlessness of the Chatti in 83. It explains why they were "already in arms" when Domitian mustered his army for the war of that year. The Romans were laying hands on the tribe's unhappy neighbours, the Usipi. "Iam proximus ardet Ucalegon." The Chatti took alarm and sprang to arms. Is this not a better cause of the war than is its alternative, the innate restlessness of the German savage?

Yet both surmise and imagination desert us when we try to explain how Domitian managed to extract the cohort from the Usipi before he appeared upon the scene at the head of his troops. Extract these angry reluctant recruits he did, and despatched them for their training by hard-grained Roman sergeants upon the desolate sand-flats of the lonely Cumberland coast. Let the summer of their arrival remain, as it must remain, uncertain between the years 82 and 83. If choose we must, we choose the latter year and leave Agricola to enjoy his Saturnalia festivities in Rome in the winter of 77. But no surmise and small imagination are required to follow the further surprising fortunes of the recruits after their coming to the shores of Solway.[1]

It was still the first summer of the men's training. The training camp lay on the coast opposite that Ireland which the governor of Britain had in mind to seize, did later opportunity serve. But at the time he and the bulk of the army were far away, north of Forth and Clyde, exploring and fighting. Meanwhile at the small Cumberland harbour, Maryport perhaps, or Ravenglass, the recruits were being hammered into shape fit for Roman use by a single centurion and a few picked veterans

[1] Tacitus, *Agricola*, 28; with Anderson *ad loc.* Dio, LXVI, 20.

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detached to serve as instructors in arms and in the stern Roman discipline. Then one day there came sailing into the harbour three small war ships, "Liburnian galleys," carrying a mast and a single sail apiece, and moored alongside the quay.

The Germans seized this chance. Here were ships. Yonder, somewhere beyond the seas, lay the homeland. Their task-masters were but a handful of old men.

They fell upon the Romans and cut them down. They boarded the galleys. At their bidding the pilots put out to sea. Two of these helmsmen soon fell under the Germans' suspicion and were promptly slaughtered. The fate of the third will never be known. He may have died sword in hand when first his ship was taken.[1]

Leaderless, ignorant of the sea, with unskilled helmsmen of their own, the Germans drove on northwards whither south-west gales and the tides carried them, through the fierce currents, reefs, and channels of the western Highlands. By what miracle did they escape disaster? Past Islay, past Mull, past Skye, the galleys sailed. The brig "Covenant" never had so blind a voyage. The gales of deepening autumn howled behind them. They were not provisioned for the sea. The hungry men landed ever and again on the wild mountainous inhospitable coast, seeking water and such rude provender as they might haply find. Down from hill croft, by loch side and shieling, came the natives to defend their own and beat the pirates back. For the first time in recorded history the grey cliffs of Cape Wrath were rounded, and the galleys sailed eastwards over uncharted seas. Then all food failed. The weaklings first were slain and eaten. Then lots showed which of the stalwarts should furnish the next meal. At the last the storms of coming winter swept them through the Pentland Firth and hurled them on the greedy coasts of Holland. The waves had their pleasure of the three small ships at last. The watching tribesmen of the shore clutched at those who struggled out of the furious sea to land. Robbers from the ocean, they found scant mercy when ship-wrecked on the shore, either from Frisians, or from roaming Suebi to the east. A few were spared. Sold inland, passing

[1] "renitente"? "remigante" is almost meaningless.

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from master to master, at the end they reached the slave-markets on the Roman bank of the Rhine. There they told their story and won fame as guerdon for their sufferings. Then at last the Romans knew that men had sailed round Britain.[1]

§ 5. *The revolt of Antonius*, A.D. 88–89.

Five years after the discomfiture of the Chatti, the Rhineland once again, though but for a few weeks, gave Domitian cause for great anxiety.

When, half a century earlier, treason in a frontier province had reared its ugly head against the old Emperor Claudius and a governor had sought to entice his legions into revolt against their Prince, the rebel had at least invoked the august name of republican liberty in hope to justify his action. But Lucius Antonius Saturninus, army-commander in Upper Germany in the year 88, when towards the end of the year he plotted "civile nefas"[2] against Domitian could scarcely shelter his treason under the less reputable name of his supposed ancestor Mark Antony. He did indeed resemble the latter in so far as his own life was evil and his ways also were unscrupulous.[3] It was in military ability that he fell far short of the greatest captain (after Caesar's death) of his time. Domitian had openly rebuked him for his foul life. Presently, in the double camp at Mainz, he retaliated by proclaiming himself Emperor.

Some discontent there was in the Senatorial class of which he may have hoped to take advantage. In the autumn of the preceding year an abortive conspiracy, easily detected and, it is said, ruthlessly punished, had caused alarm in Rome.[4] The Senators went trembling for their property, their privileges, and their persons. But if in somewhat similar case Piso, head of the famous plot against Nero, wins small sympathy, Antonius can claim still less. For the two facts known concerning his methods deprive him of all consideration. To bolster up his sorry chances he first robbed his troops of their hard-earned

[1] Younger readers of this book perhaps may find pleasure in the tale of this voyage in my story "Beyond the Frontier" (*Boy's Own Paper*, November 1926).

[2] Statius, *Silv.* I, I, 80. [3] Suidas. [4] Henzen, *Acta Arval.* CXX.

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savings, laying hands upon the military chest at Mainz in which these were stored, and the amount was large. The unhappy legionaries of the two legions, XIV gemina Martia Victrix and XXI rapax,[1] were thus compelled to adopt his cause in the hope of getting at least some interest for their lost money. Hardly otherwise could they have been induced to take arms against an Emperor always careful of his soldiers' interests, who had, besides, quite recently increased their pay. The other two legions under Antonius' command, VIII Augusta at Strassburg and XI Claudia at Vindonissa, significantly enough refused to have any part in the perilous enterprise. Doubtless their money-chests were still inviolate.

And when Antonius had once raised the banner of revolt, he sent promptly to invite "the barbarians" over the river to cross to his aid. Here was profitable use for the soldiers' money. The barbarians can hardly have been other than the Chatti.[2] To let loose a flood of angry Germans, sore after their recent defeat, upon the peaceful lands west of the Rhine were indeed a crime unpardonable in any Roman unless he was a rebel in an agony of fear. The gods intervened to punish it in fit manner.

Domitian, in considerable alarm, sent imperative orders for troops to converge at once upon the scene of the rising. Naturally the Danube army was summoned.[3] But more famous, thanks to Pliny the panegyrist, is the appearance upon the stage at this point of the soldier Trajan, the Emperor to be. Then a man of 35 years of age, he was legionary legate in Spain when the Emperor's orders reached him to proceed in hot haste to the distant Rhine. Trajan was in command of the one Spanish legion, VII gemina. (The other Spanish legion, I Adjutrix, had long since been transferred to Germany.[4]) So Trajan obeyed orders and marched—"over the well-nigh infinite vastness between Spain and Germany, over Pyrenees, over Alps, over other huge

[1] Legio I Adjutrix had been transferred from Mainz to Dalmatia (probably) in 85 or 86. (P.-W. *sub voc.* "Legio," p. 1388.)

[2] Had the scene of the rising been Vindonissa, it is hard to see who these "barbarians" could have been. But this older view is now no longer held.

[3] *C.I.L.* III, 7397.

[4] McElderry, *J.R.S.* VIII (1918), pp. 57–58; P.-W. *sub voc.* "Legio," pp. 1383–1384. Pliny's "legiones" is therefore rhetorical. (*Panegyr.* 14.)

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mountains." Then was the "sluggish and jealous Emperor" filled with just such a mixture of admiration and terror as was the monarch of old legend when Jove's son Heracles returned after each cruel labour still indomitable and undaunted. This turgid late Latin eloquence does but obscure Trajan's rapidity of movement. Pliny is quite insufferable. How Trajan must have yawned as he listened, of compulsion, to the panegyric!

Even so, Trajan came too late. Neither was Domitian himself, albeit anything but "sluggish," in time to reap the honours of victory over the traitor. He left Rome for the north at the head of some Praetorian cohorts in the early days of January 89. Before the end of that same month the glad tidings reached the Capital that the rising was quelled and the rebel dead.[1]

The soldier who did the work was one Lucius Appius Maximus Norbanus. There has been much controversy concerning his position at the time.[2] Some, on the strength of a vague and worthless allusion in the epigrammatist Martial, hold him to be the governor of Pannonia; others the governor of Aquitania; others again no governor at all, but merely legate of the Eighth legion at Strassburg who, refusing to obey his own governor's orders, marched against him rather than show disloyalty to Domitian. In this case Norbanus must have left his legion behind him, for it received no recognition for any share in the war. But the view which now wins acceptance is that Norbanus was then the commander of the neighbouring military district of Lower Germany, and that at the head of his four legions,[3] with auxiliary cohorts and the Rhine flotilla in attendance, he hastened at once up stream against Antonius. In former days Claudius had honoured the legions which refused to follow the rebel Camillus with the proud title of "pia fidelis." It is just this same title which we find Domitian bestows upon this army of Lower Germany. This then, it is well urged, was Norbanus' force, and this the occasion for the honours bestowed upon it.

With the army of the Lower Rhine threatening his rear,

[1] *C.I.L.* v, 3356. *Acta Arval.* vota "pro reditu" on Jan. 12; "ob laetitiam publicam" on Jan. 25. (Henzen, CXXI.)

[2] See note at end. Possibly his name was Lappius, not L. Appius. Cf. Dessau 1006 add. p. clxxiii. So Von Domaszewski.

[3] Viz. I Minervia, VI victrix, X gemina, XXII Primigenia.

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Antonius could not march on Italy. He moved out of Mainz to meet Norbanus, calling the Chatti to join him. The site of the ensuing battle is undetermined, and our choice depends a little upon the unresolved problem of the date of the Roman bridge at Mainz.[1] For just one fact is known. The Rhine that January was frozen, and the tribesmen swept gleefully down from their hills intending to cross over the ice. Then, thanks to Domitian's "wonderful good luck,"[2] the ice suddenly broke up on the very day of battle, and the barbarians could not cross. It has been suggested that on this occasion the new Roman forts at Okarben and Heddernheim were sacked and burnt by the Chatti *en route* for the river. Burnt at some time these early "Domitianic" forts seem to have been. If so, the natives came down the Main valley and intended to cross the frozen Rhine at Mainz. This implies there was then no bridge at Mainz. If this seems unlikely,[3] the Chatti came down the Lahn valley to the north of Taunus and hoped to cross the ice near Coblenz. In either case, the issue was speedily determined. Denuded of his barbarian allies, the rebel Antonius fought his last battle, was defeated by Norbanus, and fell on the field. So ended the "Bellum Germanicum," as numerous inscriptions call it.[4]

§ 6. *The consequences of the revolt.*

Although Antonius had been suppressed before Domitian could reach the Rhine, the Emperor none the less continued his journey to Mainz. There was not a little to be done in consequence of the revolt.

Norbanus had promptly burnt all the traitor's correspondence which had fallen into his hands on the battle-field. Domitian was not so easily to be baulked of vengeance. A string of sentences to death or exile seems to have been issued by him either from Germany or upon his return to Rome. The sufferers —no single one of their names is known—were suspects from among the Senatorial class.

[1] See above, p. 95. [2] Suetonius.

[3] As Koepp, p. 62, who places the attempted passage farther to the north by Neuwied; Sadée chooses Remagen as the site of the battle (*Das römische Bonn* (1925), p. 43).

[4] *C.I.L.* III, 7397; V, 3356; VI, 1347; VIII, 1026; XIV, 3612.

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To the soldiers of the two unfaithful legions the Emperor showed more clemency. The Flavian Emperor, however dour and grim, was just the man to realise the part played by money in compelling their disloyalty. One of the two, however, XXI rapax, was ordered away to the Danube frontier in Pannonia there soon to meet with a melancholy doom.[1] By two other general orders Domitian proved his insight into the lessons taught by the rising. He forbade for the future any soldier to have a larger sum than one thousand sesterces deposited at any one time in the legion's military chest. And he prohibited for all time "double camps." Henceforward only one legion has its headquarters at any of the great military camps of the Empire. The title "praefectus castrorum" gives place to that of "praefectus legionis" in consequence.

Hence came a re-arrangement of the disposition of the legions on the Rhine. In garrison at Mainz from the year 90 to the very end of Roman mastery of the Rhineland is the loyal legion XXII Primigenia. Its building and tile-making activities have been disclosed at innumerable forts upon the new German "Limes." Upon it was bestowed a new proud title of honour, that of P.F.D. i.e., "pia fidelis Domitiana." This soon had to be abbreviated.

When Domitian was dead and his memory officially "damned," his name was hurriedly erased from an infinite number of inscriptions which, with the erasure, have been preserved to, or discovered in, our own days.[2] Legion XXII therefore quickly discarded the "D" of its new appellation.[3] "Pia fidelis" how-

[1] See below, p. 165.

[2] e.g. a building at Baden-Baden by legionaries of I Adjutrix and XI Claudia and other troops has had Trajan's name quite unblushingly substituted upon its dedicatory inscription for the original Domitian. (Ritterling, *R.-G. Korr. Blatt*, VIII (1915), pp. 27–30.)

[3] H. Nissen, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 1904, p. 84.

At watch-post 37 near Schlossau in the Odenwald a group of three headless statues has been found. A mail-clad figure (an Emperor and *not* the God Mars) stands between the female divinities Salus Augusti and Victoria Augusti, which are definitely of Domitianic type, not of Trajanic. The group was brought to the post from the fort at Oberscheidenthal to the south. It is suggested that the Emperor is Domitian, and his statue was mutilated and flung aside upon his *damnatio memoriae*. So it came in usefully (doubtless with another head upon its shoulders) when the troops at the watch-post half a century or so later wanted to adorn this. They patched up the group with

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ever it still proudly remained to the end of its existence, as did the other legions of the Lower German army similarly rewarded. Legion VIII remained at Strassburg, Legion XI at Vindonissa.

The "confector belli Germanici" himself, Maximus Norbanus, may have remained a short while longer in Upper Germany, possibly as the first governor of that new-constituted province for the rest of the year 89.[1] He seems to have received no special reward otherwise for his notable services. A few years later he is peacefully governor of the unimportant province of Bithynia. Perhaps the burning of the correspondence rankled in Domitian's suspicious soul.

Now for the first time the two Germanies, Upper and Lower, were definitely constituted as provinces with their own separate administrations. Hitherto only their military dispositions had been independent of the control of the governor of Gallia Belgica. Now there is a governor of each Germany with full civil as well as military authority. The frontier between the two Germanies was fixed at a small brook, the Vinxtbach, which enters the Rhine from the west nearly opposite Rheinbrohl, a few miles below Coblenz, and this still separated the dioceses of Cologne and Trèves up to Napoleonic times.[2] In the year 90 a distinguished Roman lawyer, one Javolenus Priscus, is "consular legate of the province of Upper Germany," as well as legate of the troops in Upper Germany.[3] That this reorganisation was one, indeed the most striking, result of the revolt of Antonius can hardly be doubted.

Domitian's choice of this civil lawyer, C. Octavius Tidius Tossianus Lucius Javolenus Priscus, as his first governor of Upper Germany (or as his second, if Norbanus was the first), is interesting.[4] The Romans expected their lawyers to be soldiers and governors. The great Spanish conquistador Alvar Nuñez,

later material. Unluckily the Oberscheidenthal fort is post-Domitianic, and the puzzle is insoluble. (Cf. E. Fabricius, *R.-G. Limes-Komm.* Lief. 44, pp. 85–92.)

[1] Dessau 1006. Cf. Mommsen, *Hermes*, 19, p. 438. There is no good reason to question the genuineness of this inscription. Cf. Corradi, p. 1995, and Riese, *W.-D. Zeitschrift*, 1907, pp. 139 sqq.

[2] *C.I.L.* XIII, 7713, 7732. Cf. E. Fabricius, *R.-G. Limes-Komm.* Lief. 40 (1915), p. 58; Koepp, p. 113.

[3] *C.I.L.* III, 9960; Dessau 1015. Cf. *Eph. Epigr.* V, p. 652 and Dessau 1998. For his repute as a jurist see my *Hadrian*, p. 199.

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when appointed by the Emperor Charles V Governor and Captain-General of the River Plate in A.D. 1540, stipulated expressly that "no barristers or attorneys shall pass to the Indies."[1] The Spaniard had good reason for mistrust. But the great Roman lawyer had often from his youth up been trained in arms. Yet the Emperor's selection does seem to show that his primary concern in Upper Germany was now rather civil administration than any risk of war. And in fact it is thanks to Domitian himself that henceforward for many a long year the Rhine frontier itself is tranquil. The military peril now shifts to the Danube, whither the Emperor himself was soon imperatively to be summoned, as will be seen.[2]

There is no more trouble on the Rhine. Three legions instead of four are enough to guard the frontier in Upper Germany, and Legion XXII Primigenia can quite comfortably send a detachment of a thousand men to Hadrian in Britain in the year 120.[3] Similarly Trajan, when in sore need of reinforcements for his Second Dacian War, has no scruple in calling up Legion I Minervia to him from Bonn, leaving but two legions on the line of the Lower Rhine.

And this time the Chatti were effectively humbled. Pushed right back once more beyond the new frontier, they concluded a second treaty with the victorious Romans, and this remained unbroken.[4] But still beyond the frontier, "the primitive German Forest—Der deutsche Urwald—guarded the Germans from the fate of the Gauls,"[5] and preserved the Germans' freedom.

Twenty years ago a German writer, perhaps a little jealous on behalf of his barbarian predecessors, wrote that "the Flavian foreign policy confined itself to the defence of the frontiers."[6] This in Germany as in Britain is a misleading half-truth. Frontiers have to be defended. But those acquired as a result of hard fighting and of set policy by the Flavian Emperors, and chief among them by Domitian, both in Germany and in Britain, are not the frontiers with which Nero remained content.

[1] "Que no passaren abogados ni procuradores a las Indias."
[2] See below, chapter VII.
[3] *C.I.L.* X, 5829.
[4] Statius, *Theb.* I, 19.
[5] Koepp, pp. 11, 13.
[6] H. Nissen, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, III (1904), p. 82.

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The legionaries, in diminished numbers, remain upon the Rhine. But many thousands of their comrades-in-arms, the auxiliaries of the Roman army, are thrust forward far to the east to fortify and to garrison a new frontier line for the Empire, which embraces Taunus and Wetterau, links these new-won lands with Odenwald and Neckar, reaches south to the Rauhe Alb, turns eastwards, and runs not a few miles north of and parallel to the Upper Danube until at last it comes to rest upon this river 200 miles east of Strassburg. This great "German-Raetian Limes" took many a long year before it reached its final shape. But, if Vespasian began the forward movement, if Antoninus Pius completed it, the great comprehensive plan itself and a great part of the sore labour of its execution must today be ascribed to the glory of the misjudged, disparaged, hated Domitian, greatest of the Flavian princes.

NOTE TO §§ 5 AND 6: *Evidence for the Revolt of Antonius.*

ANCIENT:

Suetonius, *Dom.* 6, 7. Dio, LXVII, 11. Martial, IX, 84. Victor, *Epit.* 11. Pliny, *Panegyr.* 14.

MODERN:

Excellently put together by (1) Weynand, Pauly-Wissowa, VI, pp. 2567–2570; (2) Corradi, *Diz. Epig.* fasc. 63, pp. 1992–1998. Cf. also the earlier versions *ap.*: (3) Gsell, *Dom.* pp. 250–260; (4) Mommsen, *Étude sur Pline le Jeune* (trans. Morel), pp. 93–94; (5) E. G. Hardy, *Studies in Roman History*, First series, pp. 216–221; Second series, pp. 84–90; (6) Pelham, *Essays in Roman History*, pp. 192–193.

That the scene of the rising was Vindonissa and that Maximus Norbanus came from Pannonia through Raetia to suppress it was Mommsen's view. Schiller (*Gesch. röm. Kaiserzeit*, p. 524) brings Norbanus from Aquitania also to Vindonissa. Both views are based mainly on the Martial passage. Ritterling, in his convincing paper *ap. West-Deutsche Zeitschrift*, XII, 1893 (pp. 203–234), has carried the day in favour of Mainz and of Norbanus as commander in Lower Germany. This view has e.g. been accepted by Weynand, Hardy, Weichert (*W.-D. Z.* XXI, 1902, pp. 140 sqq.; XXII, 1903, pp. 119 sqq.), and A. Riese (*W.-D. Z.* XXVI, 1907, pp. 129–141). Pelham, in his Oxford Lectures, obviously preferred it. That Norbanus was merely legate of Legion VIII at Strassburg was the old view of De la Berge (*Trajan*, p. 13), followed by Bury (*Student's Roman Empire*, p. 390).

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CHAPTER VI

THE GERMAN-RAETIAN "LIMES"

§ 1 The evidence. § 2 The Taunus-Main section of the Limes Germanicus. § 3 The Limes Germanicus from Main to Rems. § 4 The Limes Raeticus and the advance over the Upper Danube. [*Note:* Bibliography for §§ 1–4.] § 5 The religion of the frontier.

§ 1. *The evidence.*

UNTIL the last decade of the nineteenth century the work of the Flavian Princes and of their successors upon the German-Raetian frontier of the Roman Empire could be but little known. Then began the long years of patient spade work which had slowly unrolled and interpreted a large part of the record of the German and was beginning to disclose that of the Raetian section when the Great War in 1914 put an abrupt end to that toil. In its course the war slew W. Barthel, the most enthusiastic and brilliant of the younger scholars who had been engaged upon the investigation of the frontier. No one of the tribe of critics even will grudge praise to a dead man. What remains at the moment is but to brood over the discoveries of the happier years and laboriously to collate results.

The German Commission appointed in 1892 to explore the frontier line and its forts had up to the year 1926 published 44 "Lieferungen" of its proceedings, the great majority devoted to the forts (between 80 and 90 in number) laid bare. It also began to issue an annual "Bericht," of which the fourteenth was published in 1923. It further inspired other works and writings, one of the most attractive of which is the Bilder-Atlas of Germania Romana, a monument in itself to the courage of German scholarship in the dark days of 1922, which was fitly dedicated to the old yet unwearied scholar Georg Wolff, the Nestor of the archaeological enterprise. Precise results, still more, precise dates, may remain matter for discussion and dispute. Many thousand pages of German, at times the most crabbed and weariful, seem at times to darken counsel and to engender despair.[1] Yet at the end of all there is

[1] Here e.g. is a typical sentence of Wolff's: "Für diese Ansetzung können wir jetzt darauf hinweisen, dass der Stempel der 14. Legion ORL BI Nr. 2a.

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written a new chapter in the history of Roman Germany and, besides, there stands something which may invigorate man's flagging faith in man, a record of patience which a Casaubon would have honoured and a Pattison have praised.

The evidences of date are of various kinds. First come the actual remains laid bare by the spade and the super-imposition of strata composed of building material, together with deductions therefrom. "A fort means a bath and a bath means a fort."[1] (These were Roman days.) Next come the inscriptions found, all too few, indeed surprisingly rare, but invaluable. Thirdly may be cited the building-tiles, the Ziegelstempel, of the legions and other troops who manufactured them. These of course are no proof of the actual presence of such troops in the forts where the tiles are found. The potteries were at or near the legionary headquarters, those of Legion VIII at Strassburg, of Legion XXII at "Nida" or Nied near by Heddernheim, and thence they were brought up country to the frontier. But the very tiles are now dated in chronological sequence. Next come the deductions concerning date drawn from the style, decoration, potters' signatures, as of "Satto, Toccius, and Nasso" and their brother craftsmen, of the innumerable fragments of pottery, domestic and cooking utensils, pots, pans and beakers of the commonest sort, found, as is natural, upon every excavated site. There has been created a new Science of "terra sigillata." "We cannot get away from pottery in these days," as a Cambridge scholar recently remarked, though in another connection.[2] In vexed chronological questions "die Keramik den Ausschlag

Niederberg Tafel VI 24, für den dort S. 20 B. 24 nur auf Nass. Ann. V 1 Taf. III 5 verwiesen werden konnte und über den später Ritterling ORL B II Nr. 31 S. 126, 31 sich ausgesprochen hat, heute mit noch grösserer Bestimmtheit in die Zeit unmittelbar nach dem zweiten Chattenkriege vom Jahre 89–90 gesetzt werden kann" (*Bericht IX*, p. 37). And who but the most courageous would embark upon the perusal of e.g. F. Winkelmann's "Die vorrömischen und römischen Strassen in Bayern zwischen Donau und Limes" (*Bericht XI*, pp. 4–56) without some desperate sinking of the heart? The find *in situ* of a sherd with stamp of "Agrippa" or "Adiutex" the potter is alone comparable to the triumph with which we reach the concluding verb in many a ten or twelve line sentence.

[1] Wolff, *Ber. IX*, p. 47. So the exceptionally large baths by the two stone forts at Neckarburken help to show that two regiments were here at the same time (Fabricius, *R.-G. Komm.* Lief. 44, p. 112).

[2] W. H. D. R. *ap. Class. Rev.* 1915, p. 117.

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geben soll."[1] Spear-heads, sword-blades, javelins, are nothing like so "datable" as are the débris of scullery and kitchen, the handiwork of Roman cooks and of destructive urchins. Finally there come the finds of coins. These number several thousands at least. Thus 610 are enumerated at Zugmantel, 325 at Pfünz, 215 at Jagsthausen: scarcely a fort but has yielded at least a handful. But this numismatic evidence requires wary handling. The Roman coin enjoyed a long life and was not speedily, if at all, withdrawn from circulation. Thus no "terminus a quo" is given for the early occupation of a fort by the finding of early coins upon its site. Mark Antony for instance poured out coins for the public, especially the military, use. "His" coins have been disinterred at Zugmantel, Feldberg, Kapersburg, Ober-Florstadt, Rückingen, Höchst, Walldürn, Oberscheidenthal, Unterböbingen, and Weissenburg. These and other Republican coins, as well as those of every Julio-Claudian Emperor, were still current on and beyond the Rhine in the third century of our era. Sometimes an argument as to the probable date of foundation or of reconstruction has been, somewhat hesitatingly, based upon the comparative plentifulness of coins of some one particular period, e.g. of Flavian mintage or of Hadrian's reign. But the one really secure argument derivable from coin discoveries is that of the "end of all things," the "terminus ad or post quem." The absence upon a site of all coins belonging to a period after the middle of the third century (combined with the presence of many of all Emperors up to that time) is good and pretty well conclusive proof of destruction or evacuation.

And, lastly, the chronological sequence of (1) earth fort, (2) stone fort, upon the German "Limes" does win general acceptance. Even here however we remember uncomfortably the significant caution of our own distinguished archaeologist, who tells us concerning the forts of the "Antonine Wall" in his native country that they have "furnished an emphatic warning as to the danger of being too dogmatic in drawing chronological conclusions from the difference between Erd-, Rasen-, and Steinkastelle."[2] The very foundations of the

[1] Barthel, *Ber. VI*, p. 115; cf. *J.R.S.* XI (1921), pp. 113–116.

[2] G. Macdonald, *ap. J.R.S.* III (1913), p. 333. The Germans seem more confident.

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Roman fort-building on the German-Raetian frontier seem to shake at the blast of so sceptical a trumpet. There are auxiliary bits of evidence of value, trenches, ditches, ramparts, walls, stumps of wood along many an anxious mile, the proof of palisades (though *not* inevitably, for that reason, of Hadrian). A ditch which runs right over a fort site is extremely valuable. Equally valuable is a brother ditch which carefully runs round such a site. The orientation of gates is not to be neglected. Strategists too will have an eye to the "lie of the country."

In the issue, some such sketch of the making and fortification of the new frontier and of its stages in different sections as the summary which now follows may be attempted. At times dogmatism may seem to be too nakedly apparent. But the saving words "probably" and "possibly" cannot be sprinkled in every sentence as cayenne in every Indian dish. "Let it be granted that"—as Euclid, in our distant schoolboy days, was wont to say. Or, in other words, every conclusion drawn is liable to modification if later discovery should demand it.

§ 2. *The Taunus-Main section of the Limes Germanicus.*

As it existed at the end of the second century of our era in the days of Severus and Caracalla, the Limes Germanicus, the artificial frontier line enclosing Roman Germany east of the Rhine, started from the river at a point, the "Caput Limitis," between Hönningen and Rheinbrohl, exactly opposite the mouth of the Vinxtbach which Domitian had set as the dividing line of his two new provinces of Upper and Lower Germany.[1]

From this point the line ran south-east, roughly parallel to, and at a few miles distant from the Rhine; crossed the Lahn near Ems; and reached the western end of the Taunus ridge. Here it turned east, and, keeping along the northern slopes of the hills, inclined ever northwards by a whole string of forts, Zugmantel, Heftrich, Feldberg, Saalburg,[2] Kapersburg, Langenhain, and Butzbach, till it reached its most northerly point at Arnsburg in the Wetterau. From Arnsburg it declined south-east to Inheiden, and there turned almost due south by the

[1] See above, p. 114. [2] The ex-Kaiser's model fort.

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forts of Echzell, Ober-Florstadt, Altenstadt, Marköbel and Rückingen, crossing from time to time various streams flowing south-west to join the Main, and finally reached this river itself at Gross-Krotzenburg, some miles up stream above Frankfurt.

There is good evidence that the lands so enclosed by this great triangular northern sweep of the "Limes" were, like the lands on the southern slopes of Taunus and between these hills and the Main, rich, cultivated, and, unlike the Agri Decumates to the south, densely inhabited in these early Roman days.[1] Besides the actual forts on the "Limes" there were within this district so enclosed many others of demonstrated Roman occupation, such as Friedberg, Okarben, Heddernheim, Hofheim, and, on the Main itself, Höchst and Kesselstadt, with Wiesbaden itself to the west, Queen-city of the district. And in the strip north of the Lahn were the forts Arzbach, Niederberg, Bendorf, Heddesdorf, and, largest and latest of all, Niederbieber.

Upon all this section of the frontier there runs the "Pfahlgraben" or "Pale," an artificial ditch and bank linking fort with fort. But earlier than this and slightly in front of it is the line of a continuous palisade and its trench. It is earlier and more continuous than the Pfahlgraben inasmuch as the stone forts are adapted to it and not it to the stone forts.

The process of defensive works and their construction seems here to have been the following. Originally a "Limes" in Flavian usage seems to mean just an open road. Then at once came the need to guard it. Hence small earthen forts[2] were built upon its line with wooden watch-towers placed between fort and fort. Then comes the palisade in its trench in front of all. Presently stone watch-towers replaced the wooden, and small stone forts were built at intervals behind the palisade. Later still the new ditch and earthen rampart of the Pale were traced behind the line of the palisade. This Pale ran in places over the very site of the earliest wooden towers. Stone forts replaced the earthen forts and were linked together by the Pale, whose course they interrupt. The chronological

[1] Cramer, *ap. Bericht VI* (1913), p. 75.

[2] These seem to be wanting on the Odenwald Limes south of Seckmauern. See next section.

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problem is that of fitting the names of precise Emperors to the different stages of this process and to the forts both upon and within the frontier line. There is considerable conflict of opinion among the German experts themselves.

The suggestions in regard to a few particular forts may first be given. Bendorf and Friedberg as well as Höchst may first have been garrisoned in Augustan days.[1] The old earthen forts at Wiesbaden and at Hofheim are ascribed to Caligula's time. The last-named, Hofheim, has two forts, the first built about A.D. 40 and after a chequered career abandoned when the second was built about A.D. 83.[2] Similarly at Wiesbaden the stone fort replaced the earthen one probably in the Flavian period, possibly not till the early days of the second century. Heddernheim begins its military career as a small earth fort most probably under Vespasian. At least pre-Flavian remains here indicate no permanent occupation earlier. It and Okarben were, it seems, destroyed by the Chatti, and the two were then rebuilt on a larger scale and garrisoned respectively by Ala I Flavia and Ala II Flavia. At Frankfurt itself (Altstadt) is a Domitianic fort.[3] At Holzhausen no earth fort has yet been found, and its stone fort has been assigned to Marcus Aurelius. But excavations here are incomplete.[4] The finds at Zugmantel, according to the chief authority, disputing a previous view, carry us back to Flavian days at least, if not earlier.[5] Heddesdorf, nearest the Caput Limitis, of presumed Domitianic date, was at least reinforced if not replaced altogether a century later by Commodus' new great fort of Niederbieber, garrisoned by two "numeri," one "Germanorum," one "Brittonum." This covered thirteen acres and then enjoyed seventy years of life.[6]

Three or four more general conclusions of interest seem to emerge from the welter of excavation and discussion.

Firstly, "that the great forts of the Wetterau were built in

[1] See above, p. 95.

[2] Ritterling, "Das frührömische Lager bei Hofheim im Taunus," reviewed by Haverfield, *ap. J.R.S.* II (1912), p. 276.

[3] Wolff, *Ber. IX*, p. 27. [4] L. Pallat, *Das Castell Holzhausen* (1904).

[5] Wolff, *Ber. IX*, pp. 55–57.

[6] Cf. Ritterling, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 120, 3 (1911), pp. 259–278. Our own Newstead was still larger, covering fifteen acres. For such "numeri" see below, pp. 130–131.

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early Domitianic times no doubt exists,"[1] and that this fort-building was a result of the "wars with the Chatti" of A.D. 83–84 and 88–89 (in lesser measure). At least a dozen of these "Domitianic" forts are specified, viz.: Wiesbaden, Hofheim, Heddernheim, Okarben, all within the frontier, and, upon its actual line, Zugmantel, Saalburg, Kapersburg, Langenhain, Butzbach, Arnsburg, Echzell, and Ober-Florstadt. The earlier view, which was inclined to ascribe them in the main to Hadrian,[2] is abandoned.

Secondly, on the short stretch of frontier from Ober-Florstadt south to the Main, two lines of occupation are to be traced, one earlier, one later. The first, the "Older Boundary," which pays some careful regard to the natural features of the country traversed, ran from Ober-Florstadt by Heldenbergen to Kesselstadt on the Main, where a bridge was built over the river.[3] This line was established by the end of the first century as a road with watch-towers. Then the frontier was advanced slightly to a new line to the east which completely disregarded natural advantages, running from Ober-Florstadt by the forts Altenstadt, Marköbel, and Rückingen to Gross-Krotzenburg a few miles higher up the Main above Kesselstadt, and here too a bridge was built over the river. These forts are stone forts and on their sites there are no traces of earlier earthen ones. Along this advanced line also runs the palisade. And this small advance and these forts at least are confidently ascribed to Hadrian.[4]

Thirdly, fort replaces fort, not only in stronger material upon the same site, but also as substitute in another position. Otherwise, as Wolff admits, it is possible to be rather seriously "bange"—uneasy—at the large number of forts which have been discovered in the Wetterau as elsewhere. Where, it might

[1] Wolff, *Ber. IX*, p. 54 (1916). So Ritterling, *R.-G. Korr. Blatt*, VIII (1915), pp. 27–30. [2] Barthel.

[3] The Main was also bridged at Hanau, Frankfurt, and Höchst. Wolff, *Ber. IX*, pp. 66–67.

[4] For the two lines and the discussion see Wolff's monograph *Die südliche Wetterau* and the same writer in *Ber. IX*, pp. 58–66. He here again counters Barthel who in *Ber. VI*, p. 143 had challenged his view. Barthel's long paper however in this *Bericht VI*, pp. 114–181 is one of the most valuable contributions to the whole subject of the Limes.

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well be asked, were the troops to be found to garrison so many simultaneously? And were so many really necessary, however rich and "waldfreies Fruchtland" the new acquisitions were? The answer is that not a few of such forts were but provisionally occupied, and that in due course of time they were evacuated by the troops, who were despatched to other more advanced stations. Then the old fort-buildings could be devoted to the kindlier purposes of peace, housing war-weary veterans and their families. It can hardly be doubted that such a development took place both in the erstwhile forts west of the Rhine upon the annexation of the Agri Decumates,[1] and, as will be seen, upon the considerable advance beyond the Odenwald-Neckar line on the next section of the frontier to be considered. And the like process of transforming a military garrison into a civil settlement can be proved in the Taunus-Wetterau district. Just as, to the south, Ladenburg (Lopodunum), garrisoned from A.D. 74 to the days of Trajan, when it lost its troops, became the Civitas Ulpia Sueborum Nicretum, so Heddernheim, its garrison removed, became the Civitas Taunensium, and Hadrian builds walls for the new municipality.[2] Similarly Wiesbaden settles peacefully down as "Civitas Mattiacorum." And almost always the new German town bears a tribal name. Civitas Aquensis (Baden-Baden), for obvious reasons, and Sumelocenna are the two exceptions to this common rule in Germany.[3]

Finally, if Hadrian claims as his the few forts from Ober-Florstadt to Gross-Krotzenburg and, it appears, competes with Trajan as possible builder of forts at Niederberg, Inheiden, and Ems, at least also he has a right beyond other Emperors to call the palisade his own. This last I have described elsewhere. Always it was rather a frontier line, possibly for customs' purposes, than an integral part of a military system of defence. Even a boy albeit "kanonenlos" may "storm" a wooden fence nine feet high.[4] Doubtless, too, stone forts are built in the early

[1] See above, p. 93.

[2] Wolff, *Ber. IX*, p. 22. Cramer, *R.-G. Korr. Blatt*, IV (1911), p. 48, VI (1913), p. 76.

[3] Cf. Atkinson, *Class. Rev.* 1924, p. 57. See above, pp. 91–92.

[4] *Vita Hadriani*, 12, 6, the cause of "venturesome hypotheses" (Kornemann). See my *Life and Principate of Hadrian*, pp. 141, 146, 147. A kindly

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second century in preference to earthen. And eventually the Pfahlgraben itself, at some time after Hadrian's day, replaces more usefully the palisade.

Stages of advance are marked; forts are ascribed. It remains to be admitted honestly today, as when Pelham wrote twenty or more years ago, that "to assign to each Emperor his proper share of the work" must be somewhat guess-work upon this, as upon the Raetian, sections of the frontier. The intervening section from Gross-Krotzenburg to the Rems may yield more certain results. Dogmatism remains dangerous. Later experts correct the over-confident ascriptions by earlier. Domitian began the work. Trajan, whose interest in this frontier is never marked, may have added to it. Hadrian certainly carried it on. In the space of half a century Rome builds a fortified frontier line which stands impregnable for a hundred more years. Praise be to all to whom it may be proved due.

§ 3. *The Limes Germanicus from Main to Rems.*[1]

To present as adequate a summary of this section of the frontier as may be in my capacity I propose to travel boldly far beyond the chronological limits set by the title of this book. For this, the second or "middle" section of the whole German-Raetian frontier, is more suggestive of the nature of Rome's frontier system than any other part of her far-flung line excepting only that of our own island.

There are three subdivisions of this section. The first is the frontier traced by the course of the river Main itself from Gross-Krotzenburg as far up stream as Miltenberg. The second strikes away from the Main south of the mouth of the Mümling close to Wörth, and runs, an artificial line of

critic of this book urged that I gave Hadrian less than his due. Yet perhaps he himself relies too much upon Barthel and his Sixth *Bericht*, not enough on Wolff and the Ninth (*not* the Tenth) of these monumental publications. And even Hadrian's affection for palisades can be regarded too exclusively as giving him a monopoly in their use. See the next section. Koepp has some fondness still for a military use of the palisade (p. 76).

[1] This whole section is based primarily upon Fabricius' papers. See note at end of chapter.

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demarcation, over the Odenwald plateau to the Neckar at Wimpfen, from which point this river marks the frontier up stream to Cannstatt and Köngen. This is known as the Odenwald-Neckar line. The third, alternative to and replacing the second, is an artificially traced line of geometrical directness running from Miltenberg, where it leaves the Main, to Lorch in the valley of the Rems. Here the Limes Germanicus proper ends and the Limes Raeticus begins. This is known as the "Outer" as distinguished from the Odenwald-Neckar, the "Inner," line of frontier.

(i) *The river or "Main" section.*

A river in days before far-ranging artillery (and even in these) forms a natural defensive frontier which has no need of any additional and artificial line of demarcation. The Romans, pushing eastwards from the Rhine, found that the large river, the Main, from Gross-Krotzenburg as far up stream southwards as Miltenberg was an excellent frontier line in itself, continuing as it did their artificial line from Arnsburg in the Wetterau to the Main at the former place. All that was needed was a chain of forts to guard the west, the "Roman," side of the river. Here then upon its left bank were in due order built the forts Seligenstadt, Stockstadt, Niedernberg, Obernburg, Wörth, Trennfurt, and Miltenberg. At Miltenberg the Main forms an acute angle, its valley turning abruptly to the north-east (to one ascending the river), and the whole of the rest of the long upper course of the stream ceased to be of any service or of any concern to the Roman frontier.

Stockstadt has disclosed four forts superimposed upon the same site. The earliest Roman entrenchments, of earth, are credited to Domitian. The second, a larger earthen fort, is ascribed to Trajan's presence on the German frontier in A.D. 99. But that Emperor's share in its development is denied by Barthel who prefers to ascribe the second fort to Hadrian. This makes the latter Emperor's discontent with the fortifications of the place subject to rather sudden changes. For the third fort, the rebuilding of the earthen fort in stone is otherwise dated about A.D. 110 (under Trajan), and a last rebuilding in stone to

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Hadrian. On Barthel's theory all three post-Domitianic forts must be given to this latter Emperor.[1]

At Obernburg is a tomb of early second-century date. The two dated Roman inscriptions found here belong to the years A.D. 181 and 207.

Trennfurt has yielded one inscription of date A.D. 212, and Miltenberg, a fort garrisoned by Cohors I Sequanorum et Rauricorum,[2] one of date A.D. 191. There seems no other clear "datable" material found on the Main and these its forts. But there is little hesitation in crediting Domitian with the beginnings of forts as far as the Mümling in view of the "logical necessity" imposed by the annexation of the Wetterau, the works south of the Mümling, and the annexations of Vespasian on the Upper Neckar.

(ii) *The "Inner," Odenwald-Neckar, section.*

Just south of Obernburg the small river Mümling flows into the Main from the west. A short distance south again of this point is the fort of Wörth.

Here there strikes away westwards the "Inner" line of the Roman frontier. At Seckmauern (an earthen fort) it turns to the south and climbing the Odenwald plateau keeps along the watershed between the valleys of the Mümling and the Main, passing twelve Roman forts and upwards of 100 watch-towers, the former all of stone, the latter some wood, some stone. Presently it descends from the higher ground by Oberscheidenthal, a fort four times the size of its neighbours, and runs by Trienz to the two forts of Neckarburken on the south bank of the Elz. Here was found a military "diploma" of date October 16, A.D. 134 which contains the names of fifteen corps "in Upper Germany." Then it reached the Neckar itself at Wimpfen. In front of the forts and towers ran a palisade in its ditch, continuous except where at Zwing upon a stony stretch 120 yards long an unmortared wall takes its place.[3]

From Wimpfen southwards the Neckar is the frontier and made such artificial marking again unnecessary. The forts

[1] *Bericht VI*, p. 147.
[2] Rauricorum (Fabricius), Rauracorum (Dessau).
[3] Cf. Fabricius, *R.-G. Limes-Komm.* Lief. 44 (1926), pp. 73–74.

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Böckingen (where are two inscriptions of the year A.D. 148), Walheim, Benningen, and Cannstatt lie, in order from north to south, on the left bank of the river. North of Cannstatt the Remsthal, south-east of it the Filsthal, come down into the Neckar valley from the east. South of the mouth of the Fils lies Köngen (Grinario) upon the Neckar, where was found the milestone of A.D. 129.[1]

The actual "Inner" frontier line however had, before this point was reached, turned up the Filsthal, and, near the source of this small river, crossed the Neckar-Danube watershed to the fort at Urspring and reached the Danube at Faimingen at the mouth of the Brenz, some miles below Ulm.

At least the planning of this line, and the few earthen forts upon it, as at Seckmauern and Cannstatt, and the wooden watch-towers are credited to Domitian. There can be little doubt that it was Hadrian who gave orders for the building of the palisade upon this Inner line, Domitian's wooden watch-towers seeming to him not quite adequate as a demarcation of the frontier.[2]

In this way first Domitian's annexations on the north, in Wetterau and Taunus, were linked up with Vespasian's on the south in the Agri Decumates. How far down the Neckar the latter's occupation reached before Domitian's work joined it remains uncertain as yet. There is no doubt that a road of Flavian times ran from Köngen up the Neckar valley by Rottenburg (Sumelocenna) and Sulz to Rottweil (Arae Flaviae) whence it pursued its way by Hüfingen southwards to the Rhine and Vindonissa. This latter section and Hüfingen itself belong to Vespasian.[3] No actual evidence of Vespasianic date has yet been found at Sulz, though Geislingen, a short distance to the south-east, is Vespasianic. Domitian however is given the credit of first placing a fort and a garrison at Rottenburg.[4] But the Emperor Titus about the year A.D. 80 is also allowed to make one

[1] See above, p. 92.

[2] An older view claimed some of this work for Trajan. But as Koepp urges forcibly (p. 65) the silence of Trajan's panegyrists upon such a notable achievement, as well as other indications, inclines the balance in favour of Domitian.

[3] *Not* Claudius, Barthel, *Ber. VI*, p. 132.

[4] Barthel, p. 133. For Titus see also below, p. 138.

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of his two supposed appearances upon the stage of the German frontier and push his father's frontier forwards north-east down the Neckar beyond Rottenburg to Köngen, leaving his younger brother free to turn his own new frontier line, coming from the north, up the Filsthal just short of the then outpost fort of Köngen. On the south bank of the Danube itself both Tuttlingen, just below Donaueschingen, and Günzburg, between Ulm and Faimingen, were in Roman occupation in Vespasian's days. An inscription found at Günzburg is of date A.D. 77–78.[1] But this of course throws no light upon the extent of this Emperor's annexations north of this river.

Domitian's work in advancing the Raetian frontier to his forts on the Rauhe Alb is best considered in connection with the Limes Raeticus below. But it is in intimate connection with this his frontier line up the Fils and so by Urspring to Faimingen on the Danube.

(iii) *The "Outer Line" from Main to Rems.*

To the east of the "Inner" line of frontier runs a second, from Miltenberg, where it leaves the Main, as far as Lorch, by a succession of Roman forts, namely Walldürn, Osterburken (a fort with an annexe), Jagsthausen (garrisoned by Cohors I Germanorum), Westernbach, Oehringen (where are two forts, each for a cohort, garrisoned by Cohors I Belgarum and Cohors I Helvetiorum, which may have replaced one or more of the three "numeri" also at some time in garrison here), Mainhardt (garrisoned by Cohors I Asturum), Murrhardt, and so by Welzheim (where are two forts) to Lorch. The line makes a preliminary twist at its northern end and a concluding wriggle at its southern junction with the Limes Raeticus. But from Walldürn to Welzheim, a distance of nearly fifty miles, it is drawn with amazing geometrical precision as a perfectly straight line and disregards contemptuously the regard for the natural lie of the land which the builders of the rival Inner line had studied more carefully. Here also are traces of a palisade, which are continuous along its entire length save for a mile or

[1] *R.-G. Korr. Blatt*, VI (1911), p. 25, VII (1914), p. 18. The inscription is of one C. Saturius, whom we find also at Kösching. Cf. p. 135.

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so just where it quits the Main. But its chief distinction is the Pfahlgraben itself. And the history of the Outer line seems indisputable, despite the small number of the bits of evidence upon which the story has quite recently been based.

For upwards of fifty years the Roman auxiliary troops rested undisturbed upon the Inner Flavian line, with possibly an outlying fort at Miltenberg itself. Thus at Böckingen upon this line one Publius Nasellius Proclianus, a pious Roman centurion of Legion VIII, seconded to command Cohors ("chor") I Helvetiorum in the fort, has left dedicatory inscriptions, one to Fortuna Respiciens, "Backward-glancing Luck" (a pretty but not a unique conception:[1] did the soldier often look back longingly to his comfortable quarters at Strassburg in former days?), one to Pythian Apollo, and the third to the soldiers' favourite, Mithras, "the unconquerable Sun." The first two of these inscriptions are dated and are of the year A.D. 148.[2] Then two inscriptions at forts on the Outer line appear, of but a few years later, one at Jagsthausen, about the year A.D. 161, one at Oehringen of clear date, September 1, A.D. 169.[3] There are other Oehringen inscriptions of later date (A.D. 187, July 23, A.D. 231, December 4, A.D. 241),[4] but the earliest is for the present purpose the most important.

The advance from Inner to Outer line was due to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, about the year A.D. 160 and was the result, curiously enough, of events in Britain. This last Prince of the Golden Age of peace it was who gave the word to advance the standards in Germany. Just as it was he too who flung the "advanced," the second, "British Wall," across Caledonia from sea to sea. But his advanced line in Germany was due to less urgent military reasons. In fact no special peril from the barbarians at this time threatened the Romans in Germany. The onslaught of the Alamanni upon the Roman rampart was to come only in his successor's reign and not upon this section of the frontier. And the consequences of Pius' advance in Germany

[1] The more practical Fortuna Redux is more popular.
[2] Dessau 2613, 4048, 4191.
[3] *R.-G. Komm.* Lieferung. 32 and 5 respectively.
[4] Barthel, *Ber. VI*, p. 157.

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and in Britain also differed. The occupation of the Antonine Wall in Scotland never involved the evacuation of the great Wall of Hadrian in its rear, nor did it denude the latter of garrison troops, it seems, to any large extent. But, in due course of time, the Outer line of the German Limes called up to it all the troops from the forts of the Flavian line behind it.

In the year A.D. 140, at the beginning of the reign of Antoninus Pius, there had been a serious rising in Britain. The insurgents in due course were quelled. The usual penalty was imposed upon the "dediticii." Their younger men were drafted into "Numeri,"[1] i.e. new auxiliary regiments specially formed and sent, as always, for their service away from their native land. So had the Britons conquered by Agricola been treated, and so the Mattiaci and Usipi. The cohorts raised among the loyal inhabitants of the island were called "Britanni." It is intelligible enough that the new drafts were denied the honour of this name and were labelled instead "Brittones" in the Roman Army List. Between the years A.D. 142 and 145 four new "Numeri Brittonum" were formed and shipped off to Germany by Antoninus' orders and moved up country to the Inner line of the frontier. Here they were set to work at building forts, copying a model "burgus" now built for this purpose at watch-tower 37 near Schlossau by a detachment of Cohors I Sequanorum et Rauricorum then on garrison duty at Oberscheidenthal.[2] They took their post on the frontier "non ut arcerent sed ut custodirentur," as Tacitus pregnantly remarks in a similar connection. Hence came all the stone forts (both large and small) and the stone watch-towers (to replace the wooden towers of Flavian times) in the Odenwald. This is proved by four "building inscriptions" of the years A.D. 145 and 146 of the "Numerus Brittonum Triputiensium" found at watch-posts near Eulbach and Zwing.[3] The

[1] *Numerus* in this sense means "the type of unit raised from the least civilised or newly-conquered border tribes which from the reign of Hadrian onwards served as light infantry and occupied the same relation to the auxilia on the frontiers as these had earlier done to the legions." (D. Atkinson, *J.R.S.* XVI (1926), p. 77.)

[2] Fabricius, *R.-G. Komm.* Lief. 44, p. 92; Dessau, 2614.

[3] *C.I.L.* XIII, 6518, 6517, 6511, 6514; Dessau 2624. Cf. Fabricius, *loc. cit.* pp. 51, 54, 67, 76.

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meaning of these Britons' name baffles us. Similarly the "Numerus Brittonum Elantiensium" is building at Neckarburken's eastern fort and at Trienz about A.D. 145.[1] The extreme north of the line (at Obernburg) was occupied by the Brittones Nemaningenses, the extreme south (at Böckingen) by the Brittones Murrenses. It was in accordance with this same ingenious use of rebels that after the victory over the Jazyges thirty years later, in A.D. 175, 5500 "Sarmatian" cavalry were drafted over in their turn to Britain and there appears henceforward in our island a "Numerus equitum Sarmatarum Bremetenniacensium."[2]

But the forts of the Inner line could not remain uncomfortably overcrowded for long. The newcomers also must be fed, and new fields were wanted for the growing of crops for the purpose. It is probable that the lands reaching out eastwards beyond the actual frontier line were, after the half century of Roman occupation, but thinly inhabited by any native population. Soon after A.D. 155 the authorities decided to take the action so clearly desirable and move the former garrison of the Odenwald line some miles further forward. Here, on the new, the Outer, line new forts were built for and by the soldiers who had occupied the Inner line upon the arrival of the British conscripts. From their new forts the veterans could keep watch behind them as well as to their front. The loyalty of the new levies was too recent to be left untended. In just the same way the garrison of Hadrian's Wall was meant to look behind as well as forward.[3]

Therefore we find, for example, Cohors I Helvetiorum moved forward from Böckingen on the Inner to Oehringen on the Outer line; Cohors XXIV from Benningen on the Inner to Murrhardt on the Outer line; Cohors I Sequanorum et Rauricorum from Oberscheidenthal on the Inner to Miltenberg on the Outer line; and Cohors III Aquitanorum from Neckarburken on the Inner to Osterburken on the Outer line. And in pursuance of a device now familiar a second palisade was traced

[1] *C.I.L.* XIII, 6498; Fabricius, *loc. cit.* pp. 111, 104.
[2] Dio, LXXI, 16. *C.I.L.* VII, 218; cf. Anderson, *Class. Rev.* 1920, p. 161.
[3] Cf. my *Hadrian*, p. 153.

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connecting the new parts of the Outer line. Hadrian's plan was copied by the troops in his successor's reign. Once invented, a device may be imitated. The inventor cannot claim monopoly after his death. The invention is no proof that the inventor still lives.

For some years both Inner and Outer lines remained under garrison. Though the last dated inscription found upon the former is that of A.D. 148, the argument from pottery carries its occupation down well into the second half of the century. But in the reign of Marcus Aurelius and for anxious years afterwards, to the days of Severus and Caracalla, Rome found herself fighting desperately to hold the German barbarians back from the lands of the Empire. Then about A.D. 180 the Inner line was abandoned and the Outer line proved its sterling worth. The garrison of the former was moved up to reinforce the troops of the latter.[1] The erstwhile forts of the Odenwald-Neckar line lost their military character and became peaceful "vici," village settlements, whose very names may be of British origin. They were not large enough to acquire the proud title of "civitas," like Heddernheim, Ladenburg, Baden, or Rottenburg. To this reinforcement is due the building of the second fort at Oehringen and at Welzheim and of the annexe to the fort Osterburken, this last built in Commodus' reign. The model fort near Schlossau becomes a peaceful shrine. Quiet Roman villas are built on both sides of the old Inner frontier. And, as final measure of security, the great earthen rampart and trench of the Pfahlgraben was built along the whole 200 miles' length of the German frontier at the end of the second or in the early days of the third century. The time for palisades was past.

"For two centuries Roman civilisation remained dominant in the district till the Alamanni broke through the feeble barrier of the Pfahlgraben and settled themselves therein."[2] The English historian in his fascinating and monumental work here does less than justice to the strength of the Roman forts, un-

[1] So Fabricius, *loc. cit.* pp. 35, 36, challenging Ritterling's view. Brittones are now found at Miltenberg, Walldürn, Oehringen. These are not the old "numeri" however, now disbanded to become peaceful "coloni," but special corps, e.g. "exploratores."

[2] Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, I, 1, 190.

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covered since he wrote, and the stout persistence of the defence. But Roman man-power was failing and the end came. By the year A.D. 260 the advanced frontier east of the Rhine was abandoned; some of the forts were peacefully evacuated, others were sacked and burnt. The whole "Limes" collapsed. The tide of civilisation receded once more to the Rhine, where the legions had always remained, VIII Augusta at Strassburg, XXII Primigenia at Mainz.[1] It was true in Germany as in Britain that it was the auxiliaries, foot and horse, who were "the pawns in the stern game of frontier war."[2]

§ 4. *The Limes Raeticus and the advance over the Upper Danube.*

Upon the last, the Raetian, section of Rome's northern frontier there has been far less excavation, and, in consequence, there is greater room still for rival and contending theories, which are plentiful.

To Augustus and his two immediate successors the importance of Raetia lay rather in the security of Italy than in the land north of the Alpine chain itself. In theory the Roman frontier of Raetia may have reached as far north as the Danube. But there were probably no forts on or near the river, and any troops beyond the Alps had regard rather to the pacification and ordering of the folk of the mountains than to the natives in or beyond the Danube valley.

With Claudius there came a change. The great Claudian Way was driven over the Brenner Pass, ran to Augsburg, Augusta Vindelicorum, and was continued beyond this town northwards to its end station and fort, probably at Druisheim, a few miles south of the river. The actual western frontier of Raetia ran from Stein, where the Rhine issues from Lake Constance, north-north-east to the baby Danube at a point a little west of Siegmaringen, within a long day's tramp of Donaueschingen and the source of the river in the Black Forest. Then, mainly in Claudius' reign, a line of small earthen forts was placed upon

[1] Vindonissa ceased to be legionary headquarters early in the second century. Cf. Wolff, *Ber. IX*, p. 40.

[2] Macdonald, *Roman Wall in Scotland*, p. 153.

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the Danube's southern bank or as near to this as the swampy nature of its valley allowed. These are enumerated, in order from west to east—Mengen (?), Risstissen, Finningen (?), Günzburg (doubtfully Claudian), where Saturius' inscription of date A.D. 77–78 was found,[1] Aislingen, Druisheim, Mühlhartsfurt (?), Oberstimm, Eining, and so to Regensburg. Eining was certainly garrisoned continuously from the days of Vespasian onwards, and at Regensburg also there are traces of a "Vespasianic" fort. But it was Marcus Aurelius who first turned this famous place into a great standing Roman camp, Castra Regina, to serve as headquarters of the legion III Italica henceforward for many a long year.

All these stations lay south of the Danube. That Claudius, a man of intelligence, was interested in the sources of this river the elder Pliny's tale concerning its poisonous fish may perhaps show.[2] But it would be foolish to deduce from this (as has been done) any intention on the old Emperor's part to lay hold on the Black Forest or fling his troops across the Danube. The northern bank of the river remained barbarian, a true "No Man's Land," until the beginning of the Flavian period. Then first the Romans crossed in earnest and began their fort-building. This is best considered in two sections, (i) the Limes Raeticus proper and the forts which lay either actually upon it, or between it and the Danube and at least in some association with the river bank, and, (ii) the line of forts of the Rauhe Alb away to the west and the south-west and on the river Brenz. In both sections the enterprise of Domitian may become manifest.

(i) *The Limes Raeticus and its forts.*

Though so much less is known of this, as has been said, than of its neighbour, the Limes Germanicus, yet in the second century of our era its actual defences can have been second in strength and impressiveness only to Hadrian's Wall in Britain itself. For upon the Limes Raeticus instead of the earthen mound and ditch of the Pfahlgraben and the Pale's slighter

[1] See above, p. 128.

[2] *Nat. Hist.* XXXI, 2, 25. "The fields of Upper Germany are filled with asparagus" according to the same authority (*ib.* XIX, 8, 145). What soldier told him this?

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sister, the palisade, there was substituted a veritable stone wall, some eight feet high,[1] along its entire length of 100 miles from Lorch eastwards to the Danube at Heinheim opposite Eining (a short distance west of the mouth of the river Altmühl).

This Raetian wall for some two-thirds of its course eastwards from Lorch, where it struck off at a right angle from the Limes Germanicus, ran roughly parallel to, and at an average distance of twenty-five miles away from, the Danube which flowed to the south of it. Then the wall inclined to the south-east, crossed the Altmühl (from north to south) at Böhming, and kept between this river and the Danube for its last twenty odd miles.

On the wall itself or at a short distance in its rear there lie Roman forts, enumerated in order from west to east as follows: Schierenhof, Unterböbingen, Aalen (some distance in the rear), Buch, Halheim, Ruffenhofen, Dambach, Gnotzheim (to the rear), Gunzenhausen, Theilenhofen, Weissenburg (to the rear), Böhming (across the Altmühl), and so to Eining over the Danube. These forts are at very varying distances apart, and doubtless in the greater spaces (as between Weissenburg-Böhming and Böhming-Eining) there may have been other forts whose very site today is unknown. And in the most easterly section of the land between wall and Danube lay three important forts, Pfünz on the south bank of the Altmühl above Böhming, Kösching, and Pföring close to the northern bank of the Danube, a few miles up stream above Eining.

Of all the forts, these last three excepted, very little can be said. Weissenburg seems to have been established first as an earthwork with wooden towers as early as the reign of Domitian (?). It was walled and made headquarters of Cohors IX Batavorum perhaps under Trajan.[2] Later, before A.D. 153, the cohort was transferred to Passau, and the fort at Weissenburg was enlarged to take in Ala I Hispanorum Auriana instead.[3]

[1] Cf. Herzog, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 105 (1900), p. 76. There is a pleasing (fancy) picture of the wall in the Bilder-Atlas, *Germania Romana*, p. 5, as of the palisade and a watch-tower of the Limes Germanicus; for a real photograph of the wall at Ellingen-Kalldorf, see Koepp, p. 57.

[2] Cf. Dessau 9152 and reff. and 2002 (A.D. 107).

[3] Cf. Dessau 1364, 2002. *R.-G. K.* Lief. 26.

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A century later, in or soon after A.D. 253, the fort was burnt to the ground by the Germans. Here was found a military "diploma," of date June 30, A.D. 107, giving the names of four Alae and eleven Cohorts "in Raetia."[1] Here too as many as 171 coins have been disinterred, the earliest among them Republican, the latest belonging to the Emperor Gratian's reign.[2]

At Böhming an inscription of A.D. 181 records the making here of a "vallum" by "vexillarii" of the legion III Italica, under charge of Julius Jullinus, centurion of the legion, and of gates with four towers finished by another centurion of the same legion, Aelius Fortis, in command of Cohors I Breucorum.[3] The cohort may have been the garrison of the fort, to aid whom in their building the legionaries were despatched from Regensburg. But both the first fort at Böhming and that at Theilenhofen, its western neighbour, have been recently ascribed to Hadrian.[4]

Some distance south of the wall are the three forts, Pfünz, Kösching, and Pföring. Pfünz, the centre of a network of pre-Roman trackways, has disclosed 325 coins dated from Republican days to those of Aurelian. The majority of the earlier Imperial coins are of the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian.[5] Kösching however sweeps us back into the first century, for C. Saturius, procurator of Raetia who was at Günzburg south of the Danube in A.D. 77–78, was at Kösching three years later in Titus' reign, A.D. 80. Of 119 coins found here, seven are Vespasian's.[6] Finally, at Biburg hard by Pföring is an inscription of date A.D. 141 in honour of Antoninus Pius set up by the "Ala I singularium pia fidelis," an interesting regiment, since, in the year A.D. 90, it lay in Upper Germany under Javolenus Priscus. But by A.D. 107 it has been moved to form part of the Raetian army, and in that force it remains.[7] Its title of honour may have been earned on the occasion of the rising of Antonius. But if this is the Ala which, summoned by Vitellius, deserted to

[1] Dessau 2002.
[2] For the use of this kind of find see § 1 above.
[3] Dessau 5338.
[4] Winkelmann, *Ber. XI*, p. 46.
[5] *R.-G. K.* Lief. 14.
[6] See the *W.-D. Z. Korr.-Blatt*, May 1907, pp. 65–66 for the Inscr. and *R.-G. K.* Lief. 38.
[7] Dessau 2492: cf. 1998, 2002.

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Vespasian, it may have been the latter Emperor who in his first years of rule rewarded its "fidelity" in this way.[1]

(ii) *The forts of the Rauhe Alb and Brenz.*

The waterless plateau known as the Rauhe Alb, part of the "Swabian Jura," which forms the watershed between the upper courses of the Neckar and the Danube, and is upwards of 2000 feet elevation, supplies a chain of Roman forts with a connecting road running from south-west to north-east along the ridge. These forts are, in order, Burladingen (east of Geislingen and south-east of Rottenburg), Gomadingen, and Donnstetten. The next fort upon this line is Urspring, which lies upon the continuation up the Filsthal of the Odenwald-Neckar "Inner" frontier line to Faimingen where the Brenz enters the Danube. Lastly, one other fort concerns us, that of Heidenheim, which lies high up this Brenz river valley, half way on the route from Faimingen to Aalen and the Raetian wall.

It has been already suggested as likely that Vespasian's "northern frontier" of his new annexations in the Black Forest may be represented by a line running up the Kinzig, crossing the Neckar below Sulz, to Geislingen, and turning here south to the Danube at Tuttlingen, and that Domitian pushed his line up the Neckar to meet the former line at Sulz, while at the same time carrying his frontier proper up the Filsthal to Urspring and the Danube at Faimingen.[2] To this latter Emperor therefore are confidently ascribed these curiously isolated forts on the so-called "Alb-Limes," interposed as it were diagonally between the two frontier lines connecting the Neckar and the Danube, his own and his father's. They must be regarded as "supporting forts" and may not long have been garrisoned.[3] Certainly the troops here must have found their water supply a worry. The Alb forts have given us no inscriptions.

There remain the forts of Faimingen itself, opposite the fort Aislingen (which is south of the Danube), and of Heidenheim up the Brenz valley. Both have received some special attention. Faimingen has been the subject of a most elaborate scrutiny,

[1] Tacitus, *Hist.* IV, 70. So Dessau.
[2] See above, pp. 128–129.
[3] Cf. Barthel, *Ber. VI*, pp. 174–180.

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rendered the more difficult by the freaks of the Danube on whose north bank it lay and by the river's love for changing its channel. The main fort and large settlements are certainly of Caracalla's day. But that the Romans first pushed across the river here from Aislingen in Flavian days is held to be probable, though why Titus should once more be produced on this occasion is not at all obvious.[1] The crossing at Günzburg is however said to be earlier than, and to have been replaced by, that at Faimingen,[2] and, if Günzburg is Vespasianic and not Claudian, Vespasian must renounce a claim to Faimingen.

A last and more valuable clue to Flavian work upon this corner of the frontier is supplied by the movements of another auxiliary "Ala miliaria," namely Ala II Flavia pia fidelis. Earning its special title for its services in the revolt of Antonius, this corps lay at first in Upper Germany, probably at the fort Okarben in the Wetterau, its sister, Ala I Flavia, being its neighbour at fort Heddernheim. But in the year A.D. 90 it has left Germany and in A.D. 107 it is found part of the army in Raetia. Now an inscription places it at Heidenheim.[3] The inference is irresistible. When Domitian was tracing his Odenwald-Neckar line, he made the short connection up the Filsthal by Urspring to the Danube at Faimingen. Probably soon after his death a garrison was placed on the Brenz at Heidenheim north of the Domitianic line for its safeguarding, consisting of good auxiliary troops detached for the purpose from Javolenus Priscus' command in Upper Germany.

Conclusion.

Domitian then has advanced the frontier. He has encircled Taunus and Wetterau with a chain of forts; pushed up the Main; run a second line of watch-posts with a fort or two from the Main over Odenwald and up the Neckar; made the connection here with his father's outposts in the Black Forest; drawn his own line from the Neckar by the Filsthal to the Danube; placed his string of supporting forts on the Rauhe

[1] Cf. *R.-G. K.* Lief. 35, pp. 27 sq.
[2] Winkelmann, *Ber. XI*, p. 53.
[3] Barthel, *Ber. VI*, p. 150 note; Dessau 1992, 1995, 2002; *C.I.L.* XIV, 2287.

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Alb. But still there remains the Limes Raeticus east of Lorch or Aalen. His father has already posted troops across the Danube towards the east at Kösching and Pföring. One more bit of connecting work and the whole is finished. The actual forts of the Raetian frontier line by Buch and Weissenburg to Böhming and the end at Eining *may* also conceivably be credited to Domitian. If so, there is little left for Trajan. Hadrian marks things clearly by a palisade on the Taunus-Wetterau line and by another on the Odenwald; builds a few forts on the Limes north of the Main and on the Raetian line; and moves some troops about (as Ala I Flavia from Heddernheim to Echzell in the Wetterau). But Pius really makes the first advance beyond Domitian's frontier in constructing the Outer line from Miltenberg to Lorch and imitates Hadrian with a palisade of his own. It might seem more appropriate to credit him also with the forts of the Limes Raeticus. If Weissenburg *is* to uphold Domitian's claim to these, let the actual wall perhaps be "Antonine" in Raetia as in Caledonia. Others would make the wall itself coeval with the Pfahlgraben on the Limes Germanicus. And as the two forts ascribed to Domitian on the Raetian Limes, those of Gnotzheim and Weissenburg,[1] lie some distance in rear of the wall and in their orientation studiously point south-east rather than north, perhaps Antoninus Pius or one still later may claim the smaller forts actually upon the wall and the frontier road along their line,[2] but may leave the final erection of this striking work to the days of greater stress and of the Pfahlgraben itself. Perhaps Hadrian has no claim to Theilenhofen or Böhming after all.

The Raetian Wall, like the German Limes, fell "klanglos" —"without a sound" (i.e. in literature)—under barbarian pressure in the third century of our era. Böhming and Pfünz are evacuated already in A.D. 233–234. That the Wall was actually stormed and its forts sacked there seems small evidence to show. More probably, when all the land east of the Rhine was given up, there seemed small use in retaining the line north of the Danube whose end at Lorch would now be "in air." If so, the order given to the troops quietly to retire to the old

[1] *Ber. XI*, p. 33 (1920). [2] No. 31 on the map in *Bericht XI*.

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"first century" line, the south bank of the great river itself, has left no traces, either in written record or in the unwritten testimony of the ground itself. Nothing has been discovered in recent years to confirm or disprove this theory, advanced twenty-six years ago, concerning the evacuation of the Limes Raeticus.[1]

At the beginning of this difficult and tedious chapter comment was made upon the nature and the use of the evidence which is available today for the building-up of the history of the German-Raetian frontier of Rome's Empire. Something at least to the credit of Domitian, something besides to the credit of Hadrian and of Antoninus Pius, may have emerged from its pages. Throughout the task we have been without the help of literary evidence. Even in Roman history the loss is irreparable. The historian is deprived of his own proper material. For the edifice he has indeed to manufacture bricks without their accustomed straw. Such bricks are colourless and may crumble. The building so constructed may seem too large for its foundations, without elegance, likely at any moment to fall to pieces. Only literary "evidence" can bestow beauty upon historical study, can endow its results with security. Without it, the structure is little better than a caravanserai for travel-stained passing theories, covered with the dust of the broken remains of antiquity, itself as fragile as these to which it gives precarious shelter. Yet there is just one solid and lasting gain in the still heightened admiration for the greatness, for the strength, patience, and endurance of Imperial Rome.

Be it however remembered here as always, by students and critics as well as by historians themselves, that "History is inquiry, not certainty." The "last word upon the subject" is never spoken.

NOTE: *Bibliography for* §§ 1–4.

Of ancient "literary" evidence there is none.

The "finds" are described at length in the 44 Lieferungen of the Röm.-Germ. Kommission. This Commission began its work in

[1] Cf. Herzog, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 105 (1900), p. 77.

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1892, and the publications of its results followed in ever-increasing quantity. Each one of these, with rare exceptions, deals with two or more of the excavated sites, without reference to their geographical order or numbering. The numbers run from 1–75, but with a dozen or so more labelled A or B or C attached to particular numbers. Thus Aalen is number 66 in Lief. 23, Urspring is 66A in Lief. 24, Heidenheim is 66B in Lief. 13, Faimingen is 66C in Lief. 35, Buch is 67 in Lief. 10. Or, e.g., Lieferung 16 contains Okarben, number 25A, and Pföring, number 75; Lief. 41 contains the unimportant Seligenstadt (32), Arnheiter-Hof (46A) and Oberdorf am Ipf (67B). A few of the numbers are vacant. Wiesbaden has number 31, the fattest of the Lieferungen, all to itself. The total number of sites discussed is 85. Three of the most valuable of the Lieferungen are devoted to surveys of continuous stretches of the frontier and embody the results of the exploration of the particular sites upon these. All are by E. Fabricius, viz.: (1) Von Rhein bis zur Lahn, Lief. 40, May 1915; (2) Von der Lahn bis zur Aar, Lief. 43, Dec. 1916; (3) Der Odenwaldlimes, Lief. 44, March 1926. Their comprehensive laboriousness is astounding; e.g. (3) is written on a scale of three large quarto pages per mile of frontier.

Apart from the discussion of particular topics contained in the 14 *Berichte der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission*, Joseph Baer and Co., Frankfurt-am-Main (the last was published in 1923), there are three comprehensive papers giving convenient summaries of results known up to the date of their writing. These are (1) H. F. Pelham, "The Roman Frontier in Southern Germany," *ap. Transactions of the the R. Hist. Society*, XX (pp. 17–47), 1906, but republished with a very few additional or corrective notes by F. Haverfield in Pelham's *Essays on Roman History*, pp. 179–211, 1911; (2) W. Barthel, "Die Erforschung des obergermanisch-raetischen Limes in den Jahren 1908–1912," *ap. Bericht VI*, pp. 114–181, 1913; (3) G. Wolff, "Zur Geschichte des Obergermanischen Limes," *ap. Bericht IX*, pp. 18–114, 1917 (written in May 1917). Each Bericht also contains a brief preparatory statement concerning the Commission's work of the preceding year. Since 1915 these have been, not unnaturally, more and more lugubrious in tone and barren of results.

Of very special value besides is a paper by E. Fabricius, "Ein Limesproblem," *ap. Festschrift der Albrecht-Ludwigs Universität in Freiburg*, pp. 277–299. This, though published as far back as 1902, still holds the field in its masterly exposition of the "Inner" and "Outer" lines south of the bend of the Main. He now repeats and amplifies his views in Lieferung 44 (1926). There are also many notes and discussions in various German periodicals, especially in the *Bonner*

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Jahrbücher, *West-Deutsche Zeitung*, and *Römisch-germanisches Korrespondenzblatt*.

Finally, there is the monograph *Die Römer in Deutschland* by Friedrich Koepp. This most attractively illustrated and excellent book is intended for popular reading, but is none the less a masterpiece of learning and sense of proportion combined. It must be allowed its occasional flourishes—"we Germans need not be ashamed of our ancestors" and the like—and its amusing gibes from time to time at Delbrück and the whole school of "Die Sachverständigen." It deals with the history of the subject (pp. 1–96), and the "antiquities" (pp. 96–174), and has a comprehensive bibliography up to the date of its publication (2nd edition, 1912). So much has been published since that a new edition is greatly to be desired.

§ 5. *The religion of the frontier.*[1]

If history be the written embodiment of deeds, all this laborious study spent upon the German, as upon other, frontiers of the Roman Empire gives us but a skeleton, the sheer stark bones of facts, of building, defence, advance; and although innumerable finds illustrate as well the homely domestic life of the troops in their small garrisons and of the civil communities in rear of the lines, yet the whole picture is in shadow, unillumined by incident until the end comes by evacuation or by fire. Imagination may attempt to depict but no historian records the story of Roman life upon the German frontier.

Yet something survives to lend a faint colour of humanity, of man's hopes, strivings, fears, beliefs, to the dusty picture. The religion of the common folk, it has lately been said, is found rather in the graveyard than in the church. Tombstones abound

[1] In this section the "numbers" are those of the inscriptions in Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*, unless otherwise specified: the "pages" refer to F. Drexel, "Die Götterverehrung im römischen Germanien," *R.-G. Komm. Bericht XIV* (1922), an elaborate and most excellent monograph, on which this section is very largely, though not quite exclusively, based. Still more recently Hans Lehner has published useful lists of Orientals and their worships in the Rhineland ("Orientalische Mysterienkulte im römischen Rheinland," *ap. Bonner Jahrbücher*, Heft 129 (1924), pp. 36–91). Lehner is inclined to attribute the substitution of burial for cremation in the disposal of the dead in Germany to these Oriental and Thracian Mystery Worships rather than to Christianity, and to credit the former with facilitating the adoption of the latter after the Constantinian recognition of the Christian religion.

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from the cemeteries of the Rhineland and Roman Germany.[1] These and many another indication besides help to reveal the religion of the inhabitants in measure far beyond the doubtful indications given us by a Caesar or a Tacitus. Governors, military officers, common soldiers, traders, and civilians in general, have left records in the shape of dedications, altars, statues, shrines, pillars, votive offerings, thank-offerings, prayers for good luck or deliverance from danger, gifts in discharge of vows "ordered" by visions or in dreams. To present an outline of the religion of Roman Germany it is necessary to travel far beyond the limits of space suggested by the actual "Limes" itself and those of time imposed by the title of this book. Few indeed are the precise dates given by these the relics of belief. And the farther we travel away from the frontier line towards the Roman civilisation the more plentiful such relics become. Lower Germany yields much richer deposits than does the Upper province, and a single town like Trèves or Mainz gives us more than does the whole line of the Neckar or Upper Danube. One reason for this is very clear: the trader and civilian were far more "literate" than was the soldier. They were also wealthier and could better afford to enshrine their beliefs in stone or in bronze. And the peasants of the countryside had neither the wit nor the money wherewith to leave lasting memorials of their inarticulate beliefs. Evidences therefore of Roman worships, of Eastern worships, and of Celtic worships abound. Those of indigenous German worships are indeed scanty.

And also many of these worships are imported. The Roman auxiliary soldier as he moved from garrison to garrison carried his cherished beliefs and deities with him. (The actual legionary was far less mobile.) And being already possessed of adequate protecting deities, the soldier was apt to look with scorn upon and pay scanty regard to any local gods whom he might find upon the scene where he had been sent to settle down for who knew how short a time? There was also another prevailing tendency which served to obscure or obliterate the native divinities of the countryside, that expressed by the famous

[1] Excellent illustrations of a few of the most striking in Koepp, pp. 125–128, 156–162; many more in the *Germ. Rom. Bilder-Atlas.*

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Tacitean phrase, the "Interpretatio Romana." This identification of a Roman god with an alien deity when the Roman came into contact with the latter was a natural instinct in any but a propagandist religion. The Greek gods in old days had proved too strong for absorption and even, in religion as in culture, Greece had long since taken her conqueror captive. But the Greco-Roman deities of the Roman Empire were not likely to submit to the uncouth divinities of Gaul or Germany. If any of the latter could by similarity of function claim identification with one of the former he or she had a fair chance of survival. But there is small doubt that many a local god lost even his very name after submitting to this process of "Roman interpretation." The Grecised Roman or the purely Roman deities were greedy. Instances from the Rhineland are numerous. Grannus is a Celtic god of healing. He is identified with Apollo and thus becomes grotesquely equipped now with bow, now with lyre and buskin. The nymph of the hot springs of Wiesbaden who receives the prayers of the wife of a legionary legate for her little daughter's health has become Diana Mattiaca.[1] Mercurius, most popular of gods throughout the whole Rhineland, must have devoured many a local deity. There are generally accepted identifications of the kind, Mercury himself with Wotan, Mars with Tiuz, Hercules with Donar.[2] The names of our own weekdays, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, at least show that the barbarous gods of the north have in cases triumphed over even the Roman interpretation or at least preserved their own savage names.

Or the local god may survive as a mere title added on to the more civilised deity. Mars may be Cnabelius or Camulus or Caturix (at Böckingen) or Leucetius.

The attitude of the Roman Government towards local beliefs was always complacently benign, save in the rare instances where a local cult was thought to harbour or inspire "nationalist" feelings of hatred to Roman rule. Hence Druidism was remorselessly suppressed, and Christianity, for other equally intelligible reasons, was persecuted at intervals because essentially it seemed disloyal to the Roman State. But, with such

[1] *C.I.L.* XIII, 7565.

[2] Cf. pp. 31–32.

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rare exceptions, Rome in relation to non-Roman religions pursued a comfortable "live and let-live" policy. "Rome, in strong contrast to what we call 'Rome' today, was very tolerant."[1] The "upper" and "official" classes, the higher ranks of the Civil and Military services, doubtless preferred the more respectable and purely Roman worships. The Roman soldiers' gods abound. Jupiter, Mars, Hercules, Fortune, Victory, Neptune, Vulcan, all are as common in the Rhineland as they are dear to the military soul. Local nymphs indeed and any "genius loci" might merit some passing regard. But for the most part the soldier honoured the soldiers' pet divinities. Agricultural deities, so dear to ancient Italy, are conspicuous by their absence. Even "Father Liber" in today's land of vines can claim but two surviving inscriptions to his credit. And the rich merchant would imitate the official class.[2] Of very particular interest is one monument at Mainz, the famous "Juppitersäule," found twenty years ago. This pillar was erected in Nero's honour in A.D. 65 to Jupiter Optimus Maximus by the "canabari" of the two legions, IV Macedonica and XVIII Primigenia, then in garrison at the standing camp there. It was adorned with sculptures of many a divinity by two local artists, "Samus" and "Severus, son of Venicar." No single one of the divine beings upon it is other than purely Roman. This practice of dedicating pillars became popular in the Rhineland.[3]

Underlying the whole religious and political system of the Roman Empire lay the one great Imperial official or State cult, Caesar-worship, in the shape of the worship of "Roma et Augustus" at some one centre in each province, in close association with the "Provincial Council" which met at least annually at the town where was established the "ara" for the worship. Vespasian, who may have been the first to establish such in Africa and Baetica,[4] similarly instituted the worship, if not the Council, in the heart of his newly annexed district of the Agri Decumates, at Rottweil in the Black Forest, as its

[1] Koepp, p. 166.
[2] "Roman" worships, see pp. 46–53.
[3] *re* "Juppitersäule" see Dessau 9235; *Bilder-Atlas*, pp. 49–50; Drexel, pp. 53–60; Koepp, pp. 163–165.
[4] Cf. McElderry, *J.R.S.* III (1913), p. 122.

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Roman name, Arae Flaviae, proves. We shall find Trajan doing the like in Dacia.

But apart from this one compulsory recognition of the majesty and dominion of Rome, religion, in the eyes of the humane and enlightened rulers of the Roman Empire, was a personal matter. Every man might worship whom he would, provided of course that he allowed his neighbour to do the same. "We are not angry with our neighbour," said Pericles the Athenian, "if he does what he likes, nor do we cast sour looks at him, which, if harmless, are at any rate not pleasant."[1] This is the very spirit of the religious tolerance of Imperial Rome as it is the very opposite of ecclesiastical fanaticism, Catholic or Calvinistic. And both State Caesar-worship and these ordinary Roman deities in the Rhineland are of less interest than are the other, co-existent rather than rival, of more local manufacture. Even a high-born Roman noble and his dame show appreciation of the potency of an indigenous goddess when the consul Fabricius Veiento and "his Attica" inscribe a bronze tablet in honour of Nemetona at Mainz in A.D. 97. This goddess, who is in association with a god, Mars Leucetius (and such a dual system is widely popular), reappears as Victory at Gross-Krotzenburg, and also at our own Bath.[2] Even the Emperor himself did not disdain to show a lively, perhaps an apprehensive, interest in the "Wise Women" of Germany. Haruspices, "diviners," are far more common than priests proper in the Rhineland. For who would not know the future if he could? The "Alruna," the prophet-woman,[3] object of veneration to the German tribes of the Lower Rhine, was a Sibylla fatidica always worthy of her place beside Delphic, Cumaean, or Erythraean. Domitian in A.D. 84 gave credulous audience to the wise woman Ganna, Velaeda's successor.[4] And German Sibyls and "Dryades" were imported to Rome to prophesy ominously to Emperors and other lesser men. Michael Angelo has done homage to a very ancient tradition on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel.

The great majority of worships found in the Roman Rhine-

[1] Thuc. II, 37.
[2] 1010, 4586.
[3] Cf. Wulf's homage in Kingsley's *Hypatia*, chap. 16.
[4] Dio, LXVII, 5, 3.

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land are Celtic in origin. And the Celt had a particular affection then as always for female divinities. The majority of the auxiliary regiments employed upon the German frontier were Celtic. Female deities abound. When paired, a male deity is the second of the dual partnerships. When in "Trinities," the male may be absent altogether. A "Trinity" may however express, not three gods, but a quite indeterminate number. Above all in extent and popularity among these "indigenous" religions is the cult of "Matrons" or "Mothers" in several all-embracing forms.[1] Motherhood and Womanhood come to their own in the Rhineland as nowhere else in the Empire, enjoying a veneration very different from the frenzy and passion excited in their votaries by Syrian, Phoenician, or Egyptian goddesses. And the local cult tends to go roaming, carried by its worshippers. Even so, the patron Saint of an Abruzzi village may wander north to Umbria and even scale the Apennines. Objects of worship change. Human nature stays very constant. The Protestant of northern Europe in his devotion to truth is perhaps a little blind in his lack of sympathy.

"Mercury and Rosmerta" of the Treveri (Mercury has absorbed some Moselle god) travel down stream to the Rhine, and cross this river to Heidelberg. Rosmerta at Gissey-le-Vieil dispenses with Mercury.[2] Grannus the Healer comes from eastern Gaul with "Sirona," to the Danube at Faimingen, where the water-nymph is "sancta Hygia," as to Bordeaux and to Rome itself. But near Edinburgh Grannus has left his female comrade behind.[3]

"Virodactis or Lucena, most holy divinities"—the worshipper, Augustius Justus, is clearly in doubt as to her number, and "maks siccar"—is at Mainz.[4] Herecura or Aericura,[5] hiding in this uncouth transliteration the Greek "Holy Maiden," possessed a shrine in the Roman cemetery at Cannstatt. At Sulzbach, near Baden, she is worshipped by a veteran Paternus and his wife (or sister).[6] She is found also at Rottenburg and

[1] Pp. 34–35.
[2] *C.I.L.* XIII, 6388; Dessau 4609, 4610, 9305. For the striking bronze head of Rosmerta from the Mercury Temple at Mainz, see Koepp, p. 170.
[3] 4651, 4654, 4652, 4646, respectively.
[4] 4758. [5] P. 36. [6] 3967.

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perhaps too at Miltenberg. But she came to Rhine, Main, and Neckar from the northern shores of the Adriatic and Istria. Associate with Father Dis, she is Proserpine to his Pluto, but she can bring good luck as well as be kindly to the dead.

The Black Forest, like Ardennes and Vosges, has its own woodland goddess, Abnoba. Men worshipped her, rustic Diana of the hills, in Domitian's day at Röthenberg, near Rottweil, at Cannstatt, and near Mühlenbach.[1] "Roman Interpretation" makes her Diana. Yet she is pre-Roman. For Rome's hills, save perhaps Soracte only, lack deities of their own.[2]

Epona[3] is dear above all to the cavalry trooper. For she is patron of horses and of mules. So she came riding over the Alps from the Po to the Danube and the Rhine, to Köngen, Pföring, and Beihingen, near Stuttgart. Now she rides her steed sideways, "woman-fashion"; now sits on the ground leaning against its flank. Muleteers as well as troopers do her homage. In Dacia and at Pföring[4] she becomes a plurality in association with the Campestres and so guides us to these most famous of the many "Mothers."

For these, the Matres Campestres, goddesses of the Parade Ground, were appropriated as their patrons by the cavalry troops, the "Equites singulares," in their camp at Rome, and thus became a fitting object of worship by any respectable Roman.[5] They rode with the cavalry to many a distant land. The commanders of the garrison stations at Benningen and Böckingen on the Neckar fitly celebrate them.[6] The whole regiment, Ala I singularium, under Aelius Bassianus, join to worship them together with Epona at Pföring by Danube side.[7] The like homage they receive in other wild lands, from the Cohors I Tungrorum, by direction of a centurion of the Twentieth Legion of Chester camp, at Cramond near Edinburgh;[8] by a centurion of Trajan's day at Dacian Sarmizegetusa;[9] and on the Antonine Wall in Scotland.[10]

[1] 3914, 9269, 3915. [2] P. 39.
[3] *Bilder-Atlas*, p. 54, 6, 7, 8; Drexel, pp. 37–38; Koepp, p. 171.
[4] 2417, 4830. [5] Dessau 2181 and Index *sub voc.* p. 521.
[6] 2604, *C.I.L.* XIII, 6470. [7] 4830. [8] 4801.
[9] 2417. [10] 4829, 4831.

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Other Celtic "Mothers" are more exclusively local, and carry us far down the Rhine: the Vallabneihiahes to Cologne; the Mopates to Nijmegen; the Rumanehes and Maviaitinehes to Jülich; the Alagabiae, Ettrahenae, Gesahenae, and the like, to various spots in the Lower Province.[1] England has not a few Celtic "Mothers" of her own, at Winchester, York, Newcastle, and, of course, on Hadrian's Wall.[2] But second only in note to the Campestres are the "Matres Suleviae," domestic Housewives, dearly loved in, if not indigenous to, Germany. A cavalry centurion at Rome can call them affectionately "my Suleviae" in A.D. 207.[3] But at Colchester "Similis, son of Attus," "citizen of Kent," does not dare to be so familiar with the Matres.[4] It is curious that L. Gallionius Januarius, decurion of Ala I Canninefatum, at Ladenburg in the first century prefers to invoke them as Sisters, "Sorores," and not Mothers.[5]

Other Rhineland cults are less Celtic and more German. Such have been found in the Lower Province alone with the solitary exception of a "Mercurius Cimbrius" honoured near Heidelberg, at Mainz, and at Miltenberg.[6] There were more peasants in the fields on the Lower Rhine than on the banks of Main or Neckar or beyond. Here in Lower Germany therefore domestic and agricultural "Matrons" swarmed. They have upwards of 260 inscriptions and 60 special local names already to their credit.[7] But in the Upper Province beyond the river if there were, as surely there must have been, pious farm labourers, their offerings were too frail to outlast the storms of time, nor had they skill to carve even "stone apples or pears." And the troops on frontier duty, as has been said, might well scorn such rustic deities. Nor had traders much reason to cross the Rhine or Neckar. It is therefore Lower Germany again which produces a crowd of German deities who enjoy more splendid isolation than the mere "Matronae." Such, among many, were Requalivahanus, Haeva, Hariasa, Sandraudiga, Vihansa, Hludana, Vagdavercustis, and the beloved Nehalennia. She it was who watched over the stormy cross-channel route to Britain. Domburg, on Walcheren Island, was the Roman Flushing for the

[1] 4808–4811, 4806, 4800–4802. [2] P. 38. [3] 4778. [4] 4777.
[5] 9323. Cf. above, p. 93. [6] 4595, 4596, p. 40. [7] Pp. 43–44.

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voyager to our island. It is at Domburg that a grateful Roman lime-merchant, "negotiator cretarius," M. Secundus Silvanus, has left us a record of his thank-offering to Nehalennia "ob merces recte conservatas."[1]

If the Roman merchant brought his building-materials over across the North Sea from Britain, the "German" soldier in requital carried his German gods with him to his bleak frontier stations on "The Wall." The "numerus of Hnaudifridus," "Notfrid's Corps," erected at Housesteads an altar, found there in October 1920, dedicated to "the goddesses Alaisiagis, Baudihillie, Friagibi and the deity of the Emperors." The "two Alaisiagae, Beda, and Fimmilena" together with "Mars Thingsus" are adored at Chesters on the Wall by Germans from the Frisian marshes.[2] Brynhilda may join her sister Valkyries, but what is Freia doing in so warlike a company?

But such barbaric gods had no share in the lives of the troops who stood watching the northern frontier in Upper Germany. Roman and Celtic deities served their needs. But they had want of more besides. And so, at the last, there came gods from the East to the Rhineland.

Christianity has no place in Roman Germany. The religion of Christ has given us no single trace of its presence on this frontier. It has long been a commonplace of knowledge that Christianity pursued its conquering career among the civilians in the peaceful populous provinces of the Roman Empire but not upon the frontiers among the troops, at least in the west. Had the Roman frontier guard ever heard of the new religion he might perchance have rejected it as too little virile to serve his instant needs. The "cosmopolitanism" of Christianity also might seem more at home in the crowded cities and great harbours of the Empire than on those lonely dangerous frontiers "face to face with the barbarians." It is the barbarians themselves whom an Ulfilas or a Winfrid must convert if Christ is to prevail in northern Europe. But there is never a hint that the tidings of the new gospel were ever carried to the Roman army of the Rhine.

[1] 4751.
[2] *J.R.S.* XI (1921), pp. 236–237; cf. Dessau 4760, 4761.

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Neither has Isis-worship, one of Christianity's more serious rivals in Rome and the East, left more than the faintest and rarest traces, despite its femininity, in Roman Germany. Perhaps there were too many female deities already in possession of the land. Three dedications to Isis and two to Serapis at Cologne, a sistrum at Heddernheim, an inscription to Isis at Stockstadt and Marienhausen, a temple near Zurich, seem nearly to exhaust the record.[1] There was no place for Egypt in the stormy west.

Cybele, the Magna Mater, and Attis were more popular. Their cult is found at Baden, Cannstatt, Saalburg, Mainz, Cologne.[2]

But a few Oriental divinities gripped fast hold of the Roman soldier in Germany as elsewhere. Eastern auxiliary regiments, Damascenes and Ituraeans, brought deities in their train.[3]

Jupiter Dolichenus, like the more famous Mithras, came in the train of the Roman armies from the East. This "Baal of Doliche on the Euphrates, a purely military cult,"[4] had a temple erected in his honour at Wiesbaden in A.D. 194, and offerings at Heddernheim, Stockstadt, Pfünz, and Köngen. In Lower Germany he is found at Remagen, Bonn, Cologne, and Xanten.[5] His worship seems to be specially associated with places known for the production of iron.[6] A second Baal, "Jupiter Heliopolitanus," appears in Baden, and the "Heliopolitan Trias," Hadad, Atargatis, Simios, at Stockstadt.[7]

But Mithras is beyond all others the chief "Lieblingsgott" of Rome's frontier armies.[8] For a century and a half, if it be accepted that there was a Mithraeum in Rome in the days of Pompey the Great, Mithraism made but little progress. But from the Flavian period onwards it swept round the Roman frontiers like some impetuous torrent. Though essentially monotheistic it seems, unlike rival monotheisms of the day, to have consorted quite tolerantly and happily with other cults in a

[1] P. 61; Lehner, p. 48.
[2] Lehner, p. 48.
[3] Cf. Lehner, pp. 41 sq.
[4] P. 61.
[5] *Bilder-Atlas*, p. 66, 6; Lehner, p. 50; Koepp, p. 171.
[6] *Bericht XI*, p. 13.
[7] Lehner, p. 51.
[8] Of course Mithraism is far from being confined to the frontiers—as e.g. London and York show, as well as Ostia and Rome herself and many another Roman town.

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polytheistic world. It was mildly, but not offensively, propagandist. It was virile in conception and in its doctrine of victory after struggle it appealed to the warrior instinct. It was cosmopolitan and drew no distinctions of race or caste. It was mysterious and attracted by its revelation of mystery. Its ritual satisfied man's common craving after purification, atonement, sacrifice, and a "new start"—"in aeternum renatus"—regeneration for ever. The marvel, humanly speaking, is that Mithraism, which seemed to have fastened its hold so securely upon the Roman Empire in places so innumerable, perished so completely out of sight while its rival Christianity strode forward conquering and to conquer. We may conclude that Mithraism was unintelligent, though high episcopal authority would ascribe its rapid decay to its mildness, its tolerant "syncretism," and its exclusion of women from its worship and privileges. "No one fought for it." Its rival was more militant.[1]

But the centuries following the Flavian period were the heyday of Mithraism. When the time came for its decline, the Roman armies had fallen back to Rhine and Danube again. Beyond those rivers Mithraism has left many proofs of its presence, sixteen Mithraic shrines at least are found upon the Limes, as at Ober-Florstadt, Heddernheim (with three shrines), Friedberg, Wiesbaden, Gross-Krotzenburg, Stockstadt, Rottweil, Böckingen, Walheim, and at Murrhardt and Osterburken on the "Outer Line" of the Limes.[2] At this last garrison post was found one of the most famous of all Mithraic carved reliefs, in which the youthful hero-god with Phrygian cap is kneeling upon the massive bull, his victim, with attendant devotees, within an arch elaborately decorated with numerous figures of men, birds, and beasts, and scenes of life, sacred and profane.[3] Mercatorius Castrensis, who dedicated this "Deo Soli invicto Mithrae," to the sun-god, Mithras the Invincible,[4] "upon his own land," happily combines in his own name the two chief constituents of the population of the Roman Germany.

[1] See a long and valuable letter by the Archbishop of Wales on Mithraism in *The Times* for Dec. 30, 1925.

[2] Cf. the various Lieferungen of the Commission and Dessau 4191, 4192, 4256, 4250, etc. *Bilder-Atlas*, pp. 66, 1, 4, 7; 67, 1, 4. Cf. Lehner, pp. 50–52; Koepp, pp. 172–173 (for Heddernheim).

[3] *v. Bilder-Atlas*, p. 67, No. 1.

[4] The god's usual title.

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Surely those in peril, the soldier, the colonist, have special need of God. Unlike many a modern man, the Roman frontiersman was not ashamed to confess it openly. True, the gods might be malignant, unpitying. From the neighbouring frontier comes the human cry of despair:

To Marcia, wife incomparable, who lived 34 years, 11 months, 13 days, and when she had spent her toil of life, albeit hoping for better things, fulfilled her fate; and to Mark Antony, my son most innocent, who lived 3 years, 8 months, 10 days, a little one robbed of life by the accursed gods despite his parents' prayer: Marcus Antonius Basilides, letter-carrier of the Tenth Legion, set this up to his most darling wife and son.[1]

Or once again:

To Aurelia, 35 years of age; and to Bonus my son, 10 years of age, whom cruel Destiny snatched, all undeserving his fate, away from school; and to Justa my daughter, 5 years old, who had just begun to give her parents joy of the sweetest time of life: Bonosus, craftsman in glass to the Fourteenth Legion, himself made this for his wife and children.[2]

Thus, reaching down through the ages, from Danube as well as from Rhine, "mentem mortalia tangunt."

The gods may be unkind, but they exist, asking for prayers and for offerings, ready not seldom to do kindnesses, to give protection from danger and a safe return. Such is the soldier's simple creed, as that of the "parvuli" who enter "in regnum caelorum." He has left no other statement of belief than what these brief and broken memorials contain. Apart from these there is in the Rhineland no evidence of the Roman's creed, its dogma or its ritual. There is the simple fact of belief, of a man's plain faith, and the rest is darkness. Just for that reason the Roman on duty upon the frontier makes his appeal to us. A Denys is more beloved than a Gerard by his brother men: possibly even by the gods themselves.

[1] From Vienna—*ap. Der röm. Limes in Österreich*, XII, p. 330.
[2] A beautifully lettered and gracefully carved memorial slab from Carnuntum; *ib.* p. 338.

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CHAPTER VII

THE DANUBE FRONTIER UNDER THE FLAVIANS

§ 1 Provinces, Camps, and Peoples of the Danube frontier before the accession of Domitian. § 2 Domitian's wars upon the Danube.

§ 1. *Provinces, Camps, and Peoples of the Danube frontier before the accession of Domitian.*

TOWARDS the end of the first century of our era the Roman Government became increasingly conscious of a growing danger which threatened the peace of the Empire. This peril was that of the restlessness of the tribes or peoples who inhabited the lands north of the Danube along its course of some 1750 miles from the river's source in the Black Forest as far as the Black Sea. The somewhat slow and tentative Roman advance beyond the river up to the line of the Limes Raeticus has been already treated. It remains to consider the Danube frontier proper, the line east of Regensburg.

In beauty as in fame the Rhine doubtless has the pre-eminence. In length, volume, and breadth she is but a baby compared to her greater sister. Hence, for defensive purposes, the Danube was a stronger frontier. Thus in the second century, a camp at Lauriacum and another at Carnuntum once established and fortified, the long stretch of river between these stations had no need of any such connecting chain of smaller forts and watch-towers as played so useful a part upon the Rhine.[1] But strong garrison standing camps were established on the Danube's southern bank, and, as will be seen, the tendency to shift these ever eastwards became, of compulsion, a marked one.

The Roman provinces which lined this bank in order from west to east were the following: Raetia, from the German frontier to Passau, where the milky Inn pollutes the clear green Danube, up to that point crystal unrivalled; Noricum, from Passau to a few miles west of Vienna; Pannonia, thence to Belgrade; and Moesia, from Belgrade to the sea. The history of the establishment of the Roman camps on the river can be briefly told.

[1] Cf. *Der röm. Limes in Österreich*, fasc. 1.

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In Pannonia the military line of defence under Augustus had been the river Drave, with Poetovio (Pettau) as its headquarters. Claudius pushed the legions forward to the Danube, and built the military camp at Carnuntum, between Petronell and Hainburg, some twenty-five miles east of Vienna. Long and unwearied excavations were carried on upon this site for many years immediately before 1914. Vespasian not only rebuilt the camp at Carnuntum but established another for a legion at Vindobona (Vienna).

On the middle Danube Viminacium (Kostolatz), fifty miles east of Belgrade, was a legionary camp in Flavian times. Presently another such camp was established at Belgrade itself (Singidunum). If, as seems likely, Singidunum became a camp first under Trajan, Viminacium was, like Mainz and Vetera, a double camp for two legions up to the time of Domitian's prohibition of double camps.[1] But along the whole line of the river east of Viminacium there were for many years no camp fortresses at all, even though Claudius in A.D. 46 had annexed the ancient kingdom of Thrace, adding it to Moesia. Vespasian again it was who first saw the necessity for strengthening the defences of the lower Danube. He moved up two legions from Dalmatia to the river, and established them in camp fortresses, probably at Ratiaria (Arzer) and at Oescus (Gigen). For the folk north of the river had already given the Romans trouble when that Emperor in A.D. 69 began his reign.

The tribes beyond the Danube, at least those in more immediate contact with the Romans on the river, were by no means the unmitigable savages of the swamps and forests of north Germany.

The Hermunduri opposite Raetia were a friendly folk who carried on much peaceful and profitable trade with their civilised neighbours and were well known in the principal Roman city, Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg). Farther east lay the Marcomanni. These had within memory trekked from the Neckar and established a powerful native kingdom in Bohemia. South-east of them lay the Quadi, opposite Vienna. Both Marcomanni and Quadi were of Germanic stock, and the

[1] See above, p. 113.

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Roman ethnologist counts them as subdivisions of the Suebi. This title seems to have been generic for the tribes ranging the whole German land from the Danube to the Baltic, each folk increasing in brutality the more remote it was from the Roman civilisation.

But east of the Vistula, in the huge hinterland north of the Carpathians and the Black Sea, there roamed those non-Germanic peoples to whom the Romans gave another generic title, that of "Sarmatae" or "Sarmatians," applying it as widely and as vaguely as ever the Greeks did the name "Scythian." Sarmatian has in fact been called "a generic term for the Sclavonic peoples."[1] In actual fact they are sharply distinguished by the modern expert from both Slav and Scythian.[2] Two of these Sarmatian folk in particular became but too well known to the Romans in the first century of our era, the Roxolani ("White Alans") and the Jazyges.

The original home of the Roxolani, in the remote east, is unknown. But the Sarmatians had been pressing steadily west for many years until in A.D. 69 they had swept into Moesia, a horde of 9000 armoured cavalry, plundering and ravaging the countryside. A single Roman legion under skilful leadership had then successfully destroyed the raiders.[3] Some forty years later these horsemen obtained the immortality of sculpture, being depicted in fascinating wise upon Trajan's Column in Rome, they and their ponies alike encased in scale or ring armour as close fitting as a bathing costume, the men carrying huge lances and with conical helmets. "We seem to be witnessing the dawn of the Middle Ages with their iron-clad knights."[4] Trajan's concern with these raiders in the winter of A.D. 101–102 will be narrated later.[5] But the check suffered by them in A.D. 69 kept them temporarily quiet during the Flavian period. Horses can, on the steppes, be quickly bred. But boys take longer to grow to maturity.

The Jazyges were of nearer and more lasting concern to

[1] Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, I, I, p. 142.
[2] M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (1922), pp. 118, 121, etc.
[3] Tacitus, *Hist.* I, 79.
[4] Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks*, p. 121.
[5] See below, chapter X, § 5.

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Rome. Near Waitzen, a few miles to the north of Buda-Pesth, the Danube makes a right-angled turn from an easterly to a southerly course, and continues to flow practically due south for over 150 miles before it turns first south-east and then east once more. Parallel to this 150 mile stretch, and at an average distance away eastwards of some sixty miles, there flows from north to south the large river Theiss which joins the Danube forty miles above Belgrade. It was in this great parallelogram of flat country lying between Danube and Theiss, with an indefinite extension northwards, that the Jazyges dwelt, horsemen always independent of Rome. Not even Trajan when he annexed Dacia, the land east of the Theiss, judged it well to enclose the Jazyges within the Roman frontier by building some rampart or dyke across the short space separating the Danube at Buda-Pesth from the Lower Theiss to the east. He allowed this huge "salient" jutting out into the Roman Empire to remain free from Roman control.[1] For the Jazyges on more than one occasion had proved serviceable to Rome. Vespasian's general, Antonius Primus, when he invaded Italy on his master's behalf in A.D. 69, had invited the chiefs of the Jazyges to share in the campaign. Doubtless he was in part prompted by the fear lest otherwise they should be tempted to plunder Moesia when the Roman army was recalled from that province to join in the attack upon the Vitellians.[2] But at least the folk had earned considerate treatment from the victorious Flavians. And, a still more important consideration, they were likely to be a useful thorn in the side of their ancient foemen, the Dacians.

For these Dacians were the real peril to the Romans south of the Danube.

This warlike, powerful, and comparatively civilised folk (like Cymbeline's Britons, they had a coinage of their own) were distinct from and far better organised than the Sarmatians.[3] They possessed the whole of central Europe from the Theiss to the Black Sea, and from the Danube to the Carpathians, a district corresponding to eastern Hungary, Transylvania, and

[1] Cf. chapter XI, § 4, pp. 290–291. [2] Tacitus, *Hist.* III, 5.
[3] Tacitus clearly distinguishes them—*Hist.* IV, 54; *Germ.* I, etc.

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Roumania before the Peace of Paris. Post-War Roumania[1] seems roughly to represent, if not the Dacia of the first century of our era, at least the lands which then admitted Dacian overlordship, except that the Dobrudja south of the delta of the Danube belonged, however vaguely, to Moesia rather than to Dacia, nor can so sharp a boundary be imposed on the east of ancient Dacia as on modern Roumania. For here the Dacians of Roman days merged into the Getae, with whom they are inextricably confused. The ancient historian, in narrating the events of 29 B.C. and the activities of Augustus' general, Crassus, in and beyond the Balkans, writes as follows:

> The Dacians are Scythians of a sort.... They dwelt on both sides of the Ister (Danube). Those however who live on this side (i.e. south) of the river near the land of the Triballi are reckoned in with the district of Moesia and are called Moesians except by their immediate neighbours. But those beyond the river are called Dacians, and are either Getae or are Thracians of the Dacian race which once inhabited Rhodope.[2]

Names fly about like jugglers' balls.

It had been one of those many plans of Julius Caesar, which were abruptly ended by his murder, to "coerce" the Dacians in answer to their raids into Pontus and Thrace.[3] Augustus "coerced" them with some effect, when they paid for their raids by the slaughter of many of their folk and the deaths of three of their tribal chieftains.[4] For they had inclined to take the side of Antony, "but did him little service owing to quarrels among themselves."[5] Under Tiberius Moesia was harried "by Dacians and Sarmatians," but the old Emperor took no notice.[6] For the next few years however the Dacians must have been once more too busy with their own domestic concerns to disturb the Roman peace. Yet the upshot of these quarrels was ominous for Rome. For now the loose confederation of some twenty Dacian tribes was at last successfully welded into one single nation under the sceptre of a single king. A certain chief named Burebista had indeed already, 150 years earlier, attempted to

[1] As e.g. in Map 47 of the new "*Times*" *Atlas*.
[2] Dio, LI, 22, 6.
[3] Sueton. *Julius*, 44, 3.
[4] Sueton. *Aug.* 21.
[5] Dio, LI, 22, 7.
[6] Sueton. *Tib.* 41.

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effect such a unification of the tribes, but with short-lived success. It was as hard to weld Dacian tribes as Irish clans into a nation. But now at last, early, it seems, in the Flavian era, if not still in the reign of Nero, a national hero had arisen, who, like other such heroes, bore many names, but whom it is agreed to call Decebalus.[1] He made the Dacians one nation. What special reason in the obscure internal history of Dacia provoked the tribesmen again in A.D. 69 to cross the Danube and to storm the winter-quarters of the auxiliary troops must remain unknown. Once more the Romans drove the raiders back.[2] Quiet ensued for another few years. But Domitian had been but a brief time upon the throne when the clouds gathered blackly once more upon the Lower Danube. Scarcely had the Chatti been quelled than the Emperor was imperatively summoned from the Rhine to the Danube. Thereafter it became increasingly manifest that the peril to Rome was to threaten always from the folk beyond the greater river.

§ 2. *Domitian's wars upon the Danube.*

To tell the story of "Domitian's wars upon the Danube" with any certainty of detail is impossible. The evidence is for the most part both scanty and vague. That the actual fighting was done under command of the Emperor's generals and not by the Emperor in person is certain. That, none the less, Domitian was himself as many as three times present upon the Danube frontier between the years A.D. 85–93, called there by the urgency of the military situation, is also certain. And his would-be Court-poet Martial shows us that his last stay upon the river lasted for eight months.[3] It becomes clear that the frontier was threatened within these few years by many different folk on different occasions, whether in isolation or in confederation together. Germanic, Sarmatian, Dacian tribes, all were in arms against Rome. Here was opportunity for a notable history of frontier-fighting. The Roman historian Tacitus wilfully neglects

[1] The Dacian king in A.D. 86–87 is variously called Diuppaneus (*C.I.L.* VI, 16903); Dorphaneus (Jordanes, *Get.* I, 3); Diurpaneus (Orosius, VII, 10, 4). Corradi's view (*ap. Diz. Epig.*) that all these are variants of an earlier name of the "Decebalus" of the Dacian wars seems acceptable.

[2] Tacitus, *Hist.* III, 46. [3] IX, 31.

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it, of set purpose and with studied insolence towards the reputation of the murdered Emperor. Skilfully avoiding the least detail, he sums the affair up gloomily enough to satisfy even the most enthusiastic admirer of Agricola.

> Again and again armies had been lost in Moesia and Dacia, Germany and Pannonia, by the folly and cowardice of their generals. Officers with their troops had been forced to surrender and taken prisoner. Our anxiety was no longer for the frontier of the Empire or the bank of the Danube, but for the winter-quarters of the army and the possession of whole provinces. Disaster followed upon disaster.[1]

The historian in this exaggerated outburst is arguing a case. Agricola has recently been recalled from Britain to Rome. Domitian's bitter and envious jealousy has summoned the victorious governor home before his work is done. Only an Agricola could have redeemed the disasters and saved the situation upon the Danube. The malignant Prince refuses to employ his one great general.

Here, if ever, Tacitus' treatment is suspect because his motive is so clear. None the less it cannot be denied that in the reign of Domitian there were upon the Danube frontier serious losses, untoward incidents, much hard fighting, and little glory won. The Emperor himself bore witness to it. And on his death he bequeathed to Trajan what has, without great exaggeration of language, been described[2] as a "damnosa hereditas" upon the Danube.[3]

Hostilities were opened by the Dacians, who, in the year A.D. 85, crossed the Danube, surprised and slew Oppius Sabinus, governor of Moesia, and dealt devastation far and wide in the Roman province. Domitian hastened there in the winter of the year, but entrusted the main conduct of operations to the Prefect of the Praetorian Guard, Cornelius Fuscus.

The Roman poet Juvenal, his contemporary, sneers at Fuscus

[1] Tacitus, *Agric.* c. 41 (trans. Fyfe).

[2] G. A. T. Davies, *J.R.S.* VII (1917), p. 78.

[3] For Domitian's "Dacian Wars" see Corradi, *Diz. Epig. sub voc.* "Domitianus," pp. 1980–1988 and Pauly-Wissowa, VI, pp. 2570–2576. For the "Suebo-Sarmatian War," Corradi, *loc. cit.* pp. 1988–1991, and cf. *C.I.L.* III, 291; X, 135; XI, 5992. The Acta Fratrum Arvalium and the list of Domitian's salutations as Imperator assist in the chronology of the events.

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as a mere military theorist who "planned battles in a marble villa" and "gave his flesh as carrion to Dacian vultures."[1] As a young man restless, ambitious, and successful, Fuscus turned later from finance to war. His fate earned for him a reputation for rashness.[2] But he has of late been vigorously defended as "by no means a mere carpet knight, but a man of energy and ability with a tincture of the military theorist."[3] For it seems likely that he first attempted to invade Dacia by a new and untried route, when, having first driven the raiders out of Moesia, he in his turn entered upon his campaign of reprisals in A.D. 87.

The customary and obvious route for a Roman army invading Dacia was to cross the Danube at or near Drobetae and, skirting the foothills of the Transylvanian Alps upon their right hand, push northwards by the "Teregova Keys" down into the valley of the Temes at Tibiscum; here to turn sharp to the east and, crossing the "Iron Gate" Pass, to approach the Dacian royal city of Sarmizegetusa which lay immediately beyond the pass. Upon this route, at the entrance to the pass, lay Tapae, of battle fame.[4] But it may be that Fuscus, whether of his rashness or his theorising or for some military reason alike credible and creditable, chose to attack the enemy where they deemed themselves secure, and, at the head of his combined force of praetorians, legionaries, and auxiliaries, attempted the famous "Red Tower" Pass far to the east. There are but vague tales of the fighting which ensued. We hear of many battles. Finally, driven back from the mountain rampart and pursued in rout by the exultant enemy over the Wallachian plain far to the east he found no safety even when once again he crossed the Danube to its southern bank. In the remote Dobrudja, hard by the tiny modern "Turkish" village of Adamklissi, Fuscus made his last despairing stand and the whole Roman army was cut to pieces.

The triumphant hillmen withdrew to their mountain fast-

[1] *Sat.* IV, III, 112.

[2] Tacitus, *Agric.* 41; *Hist.* II, 86; Orosius, VII, 10. Certainly his was a cupido "quaestus," not "quietis."

[3] Davies, *J.R.S.* X (1920), p. 19, note.

[4] For the whole military topography of Dacia and its approaches see at length below, chapter X, § 2.

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nesses. A few years later Domitian paid honour to the memory of the dead. Upon the scene of the disaster a large square altar, many feet in height, was erected, with an inscription bearing the names and regiments of the fallen, with the prefect's name, title, colony (Pompeii) and (curiously) his "domicile" at Naples in large letters at the head of the whole list.[1] In the mere fragments which remain Fuscus' own name is lost, and only some seventy names of his men, praetorians, legionaries, auxiliaries, in due order, are preserved. The archaeologist suggests that measurements prove that the entire list must have contained between 2800 and 3800 names. It may be that Fuscus and his army perished elsewhere, in the Dacian highlands, prey to genuinely Dacian, and not to Moesian, vultures, and that the altar of Adamklissi is but a cenotaph. But the other is the sounder view, since it is difficult otherwise to explain the choice of so desolate and remote a site for the memorial there erected

In memoriam fortissimorum virorum qui pro republica morte occubuerunt.

For these were but the remnants of a Roman army. One entire legion, probably V Alauda, was lost in this fatal campaign of A.D. 87.

Thus Fuscus and his army met their Maiwand and were honoured by Domitian for their valour. Thirty odd years later, Trajan did them in fact further glory when he too, the avenger of earlier defeats, built here his "Trophy," 200 yards away, to commemorate the final Roman triumph over Dacia, the core of which proud memorial still is seen far off by the peasants labouring in the flat and marshy fields, and keeps the Roman name and tradition fast set in the songs and legends of the countryside. Domitian had built a line of ramparts south of the Danube delta from the neighbourhood of Rassova to the Black Sea.[2] Behind it, Fuscus' memorial feared hostile threats no longer, and his "victorious ghost" could find rest at last.[3]

[1] *C.I.L.* III, 14214 = Dessau 9107. The inscription is restored with fair certainty. But see note below.

[2] That Hadrian should *not* claim this is urged in my *Life of Hadrian*, pp. 144–145.

[3] In this I have accepted (despite Dessau) Cichorius' view of the "Altar" at Adamklissi. I explain the whole problem of Trophy, Altar, and Munici-

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Hic situs est Fuscus. Licet hoc, Fortuna, fateri:
Non timet hostiles iam lapis iste minas;
Grande iugum domita Dacus cervice recepit,
Et famulum victrix possidet umbra nemus.[1]

But before the prefect's tomb could be built, sterner and more immediate measures must be taken to avenge his fate. In A.D. 89 a strong force under Tettius Julianus crossed the Danube near Viminacium and marched north to threaten the Dacian capital Sarmizegetusa, approaching it by the usual route of the Temes (Tibiscus) valley and the Iron Gate Pass. At Tapae it met and routed the Dacians mustered to defend the city. Then, promptly, King Decebalus opened negotiations for peace.

However reluctant the Emperor might be to conclude hostilities at this stage, events seem to have forced his hand. The revolt of Antonius on the Rhine had but recently been quelled and may well have shaken his confidence in the loyalty of the army. To attempt the conquest and annexation of Dacia was a vast enterprise which can never have been contemplated by his cautious mind. And suddenly at this juncture the Germanic tribes west of Dacia displayed an ominous unrest. Marcomanni, Quadi, and even "Sarmatians" also, in joint action appeared in arms, threatening Pannonia. Peace with Decebalus would allow Domitian to dispatch an army against the new enemy "through the king's country" and so, by menacing the foe on the flank, relieve the pressure on Pannonia and compel them to retreat. The peace was made and the army duly sent, under command of C. Velius Rufus, the tried soldier of the campaign against the Bructeri eleven years earlier.[2] Of Rufus' fortunes nothing is known except that he returned to receive customary military decorations from his Emperor.

The terms of this peace between Rome and Dacia have justly received much comment. And in their result they cannot be called happy for Rome. Yet they were natural enough under all the circumstances.

pium, etc. in Appendix F to chapter XI. Here therefore I assume the conclusions so far as the Altar is concerned. The number of dead it commemorates is uncertain (cf. the text above), and I know of no other evidence for the "3000" figure which appears so confidently in a well-known text-book.

[1] Martial, VI, 76.

[2] Dessau 9200; see above, p. 94.

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Decebalus for his part surrendered all captured arms and Roman prisoners and consented to Rufus' march through his country. In return for this, Domitian granted him formal and solemn recognition as King of Dacia. The Roman in person received his envoy (possibly his brother) Diegis in audience and placed the crown upon his head as Decebalus' representative. This might, by a Roman, be regarded as proof of Rome's supremacy. But Domitian's other proceedings may have been evidence of amity but could hardly be construed, even in Rome, as signs of Roman strength. He sent Roman engineers and artificers to the Dacian king, whom Decebalus employed in fort-building upon the line of approach to his kingdom recently used by the invading army. Twenty years later, Trajan's men found their way barred by fort after fort obviously of Roman workmanship and might have admitted ruefully that their comparative failure in their first year's campaign was due to their own Roman engineering science.[1] But over and above this gift of men, Domitian agreed also to make to Decebalus an annual subsidy in money. Such terms were by no means without precedent in the long history of Rome's methods of dealing with troublesome peoples and princes beyond her borders. But the wisdom of such annual subsidy is always disputable, whether it is bestowed by a Roman on a Dacian king, or upon an Amir of Afghanistan by a Government of India. The civilised Power may like to regard it as a sagacious method of ensuring peace upon the border cheaply. The more ignorant barbarian may hold it as a pusillanimous recognition of impotency rather than as a sign of magnanimity on the part of an Empire which has to buy peace at a price in solid cash. Who would not presently be inclined to ask for more, and, were the more refused him, take active steps to secure it for himself? It is stretching the language of reality too far when we call Dacia a "vassal state" under Domitian, despite all the unctuous flattery of the Roman Court poetasters of the day. But it is equally, no doubt, exaggerated to accuse the Roman Emperor of concluding "a shameful peace" with Decebalus. It must however be granted that the Dacian was not greatly impressed by the Roman strength, as events were later to show.

[1] See below, chapter x, § 1, p. 248.

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Domitian himself was not unconscious that his Dacian wars lacked a little of the glamour of real victory. For though in due course he celebrated his "Triumph" over the Dacians with the customary magnificence of games and pageantry in Rome, and though the provinces similarly rejoiced (as they had good reason to rejoice), the Emperor paused at this point in the celebration of success. The obsequious Senate begged him to accept the vainglorious title of "Dacicus." Domitian, popularity-hunter though he may have been, refused to add this title to that of "Germanicus" which he had already earned and with justice assumed. The Roman mob was given the shows in which its soul delighted. But the final triumph of Rome over the Dacians was not yet.

> Ah me! how sweet is love itself possessed,
> When but love's shadows are so rich in joy.

The "double triumph" over Dacians and Chatti was celebrated in the winter of A.D. 89. But Domitian's misfortunes on his Danube frontier were by no means ended.

Once again, in the spring of A.D. 92, there was fighting on the upper river. A composite horde of "Suebi," perhaps those same Marcomanni and Quadi, together with the Jazyges, crossed the Danube and fell upon the Roman garrisons and the hapless provincials of Pannonia. Another Roman legion was cut to pieces, probably XXI rapax (which figures no more after this date in the Roman Army List). The Emperor hastened to the scene and spent as many as eight months on the Pannonian frontier, from May to December A.D. 92. Under his auspices the raiders were chased back to the northern bank again. They were not pursued over the river. Such a useful success was not sufficient to warrant the extraordinary celebration of yet another "triumph," and Domitian contented himself with lesser honours, including his twenty-second (and last) acclamation as "Imperator" by the troops. "Refugis amaram Sarmatis legem dederit," sings the polite Court poet Statius.[1] All law is bitter to nomads. But there is no evidence that the "Sarmatians" gulped down the draught. In fact there are vague hints of a recrudescence of a "Suebo-Sarmatian War" under Domitian's

[1] *Silv.* IV, 7, 49.

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successor Nerva five years later. The "plebs urbana" of a small Ligurian township Libarna, now Serravalle, honours its local magistrate Q. Attius Priscus who, as legionary tribune, had received military decorations from Nerva for services "in the Suebic War."[1] Nerva too took the name "Germanicus" and to him was brought "ex Pannonia laurea,"[2] on October 27, A.D. 97. And some time after the beginning of the next year the tried veteran soldier and administrator L. Julius Ursus Servianus was transferred by Trajan from Upper Germany to Pannonia, perhaps in connection with the peril now more present in the latter than in the former province.[3]

Thus in the last few years of Domitian's reign hostilities on the Danube frontier were but suspended. There was every prospect of their speedy renewal. "Half-time" however gave a welcome breathing-space to the Romans, and the Emperor busied himself with some measures of reorganisation.

Moesia was now (or earlier in A.D. 85–86) divided into two provinces, each under a consular governor. The river Ciabrus (Tzibritza) separated the two.[4] New legionary camps were built on the Lower Danube at Novae (Sishtow), Durostorum (Silistria) and Troesmis (Iglitza) far to the east. These remained Roman armed camps for three centuries. Many years passed before the "municipium Aurelium Durostorum" developed from the canabae of the legion XI Claudia.[5] On the upper river Legio II Adjutrix, summoned from Britain, was stationed at Aquincum (Alt-Ofen).[6] The guard flotilla of ships on the river was reorganised.[7] The whole number of troops guarding the Danube frontier was thus increased, and with good reason. For beyond the river to the north the masses of storm cloud still hung black and threatening.

At Drobetae (Turnu Severin) on the north bank, hard by the famous Danube gorge known as the "Iron Gates,"[8] a small Roman township, the municipium Flavium, claims Domitian

[1] Dessau 2720.
[2] Pliny, *Panegyricus*, 8.
[3] Pliny, *Ep.* VIII, 23, 5. For Servianus see my *Life of Hadrian*.
[4] Cf. Corradi, *Diz. Epig. sub voc.* Domitianus, p. 2010.
[5] Rostovtzeff, *Roman Empire*, p. 557.
[6] *C.I.L.* III, Suppl. 2324.
[7] *C.I.L.* III, 4025, 4319.
[8] To be carefully distinguished from the "Iron Gate" Pass into Dacia, described below, p. 250.

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as its founder.[1] Its burghers must have spent many an anxious night. Their small city was indeed a notable "bridge-head," valuable in the scheme of the defence of the river, useful as a door opening to give access to the wild country beyond, indispensable some few years later to Trajan when he marched against Dacia. Yet how precarious might well seem its foothold upon the muddy bank of the great rushing river behind it. It is not always easy for those in an outpost of Empire to sleep undisturbed.

In Roman Germany beyond the Upper Rhine the Flavian Emperors had ventured of set purpose once more upon the "slippery slope of Imperialism," a venture consecrated by centuries of Roman tradition though shunned by the caution of Augustus and Tiberius.[2] Upon the whole long line of the Danube frontier east of Regensburg neither Vespasian nor Domitian made any attempt to annex lands beyond the river. Their aim was always defensive. And in very fact the Flavian wars upon the Danube frontier were vital to its security, and all credit is due to Domitian for the work accomplished upon it. Obviously that work was still incomplete when he died. Obviously also this intermittent if deadly fighting with barbarian or semi-barbarian tribes gave small scope to either Emperor or army to "feel the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war that make ambition virtue."[3] Surely it was this feeling in part which prompted the soldier Trajan a few years later to rest ill-content with his notable achievements beyond the Danube and to look rather to the East for the gratification of his ambition in pursuit there of the mirage of the glories of war.[4]

[1] Unfortunately the *Fl* of *C.I.L.* III, 1581 is not a certain reading. Kubitschek (*ap. Klio*, X, 1910, p. 259) rejects it. Under Hadrian the town is certainly a full municipium, Dessau 7150 *a*, and later a colony: Dessau 7147, 7149. Cf. *Diz. Epig.* p. 2011.

[2] "The East India Company made as heroic struggles as did the earlier Caesars to prevent their Empire growing. Yet the Indian Empire kept expanding." ("The Slippery Slope of Imperialism," *ap. The Spectator*, Jan. 15, 1927.)

[3] Lord Chatham (1777).

[4] The further history of Rome's wars with Dacia is pursued in chapters X and XI.

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CHAPTER VIII

NERVA AND TRAJAN

§ 1 Nerva the Emperor. § 2 The adoption of Trajan. § 3 Trajan's repute. § 4 Trajan and the Senate. § 5 Trajan's care for Italy. § 6 Trajan's works in Rome. § 7 Trajan and the provinces. § 8 Bithynia and its moral.

§ 1. *Nerva the Emperor.*

M. COCCEIUS NERVA was born on November 8, A.D. 35, and died on January 25, A.D. 98. Some accounts date his birth two or three years earlier.

He was the son of a Roman lawyer and discharged the duties of an official career blamelessly, in spite of the Emperor Nero's friendship and a taste for lyrical poetry. In due course he was consul, for the first time in Vespasian's reign in A.D. 71, for the second in that of Domitian in A.D. 92. When the latter, on September 18, A.D. 96, fell victim to his wife and domestic servants, Nerva was proclaimed Emperor by the Senate with enthusiasm. The troops acquiesced grumblingly. A lawyer's son, over sixty years of age, was to their thinking a sorry contrast to Domitian, who had at least been a soldier from his stormy boyhood to his death.

But there was no hint of any overt opposition either from the military or from any other quarter. Half a century earlier, upon the assassination of the young madman Caligula, men had talked openly of the chances of restoring the Republic. No withered ghost of a dead idea troubled Nerva's peace. Under the blasts of Imperial anger philosophic republicans and republican philosophers had passed away, and they had left no heirs to their idle dreams. The Senatorial class had changed its character. The old stock had been "almost entirely eliminated by race-suicide and the civil wars." Under Trajan and Hadrian there were no more than thirty Senators who bore the names of the old noble families. The Flavian Senate consisted mainly of "members of the municipal aristocracy of Italy and the western provinces and was drawn almost wholly from the upper strata of the municipal *bourgeoisie*." It was the policy of Nerva's predecessors to encourage the Latin-speaking elements

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in the Empire. Greeks and Orientals rarely found the doors of the Curia open to them before Trajan, and still more the philhellenist Hadrian, began to admit them freely.[1] Such a "provincial," bourgeois, Latin Senate had no taste for obsolete Republicanism. It was enough for Senators of this type to hope cheerfully that a kindly old Prince would not take advantage of his new power to deal with them harshly. If they should find him merciful (and they were not disappointed) they would repay him by handing down to posterity his reputation marred by as few blemishes as man's natural jealousy allowed.

Vespasian also had been more than sixty years old when he became Emperor. But Nerva lacked Vespasian's robust virility and, after enjoying a placid rule of sixteen months, he died quietly. The scandalous biographer Suetonius closes his "Lives of the Twelve Caesars" with Domitian. But even he would have found it difficult to eke out the story of the Principate of Nerva, thirteenth Emperor, with omens or gossip on a scale which would make it much more than the prelude to that of the warrior Trajan who next succeeded.

At the outset of his short reign Nerva encountered a difficulty in the vindictiveness of the Senate which had so happily escaped from Domitian's wrathful vengeance. It cost the new Emperor nothing to permit insults to be heaped upon his dead predecessor's memory. But when Senators in their glee proposed to go further and harry Domitian's instruments, his "informers" and his "sycophants," Nerva judged it time to make a stand. Prominent and eloquent barristers who saw a chance for popularity and wealth in such prosecutions might be disappointed. But no man of calm judgment could dispute the greater wisdom of Nerva's mercy.

It is one of these Roman barristers, the younger Pliny, who tells the story in a long letter to his young friend Quadratus, a letter written with that naïve delight in his own performances which is one of his engaging and amiable weaknesses.[2]

After Domitian was slain, I thought that there had arisen a great and a notable opportunity to attack the guilty, avenge the unhappy

[1] Cf. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1926), pp. 107–108; note 9, p. 519; note 14, p. 532.

[2] Pliny, *Epist.* IX, 13.

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and advance my own prospects in life. I resolved to avail myself of it.

The same happy idea had already occurred to others:

In the earliest days of the newly-restored liberty there were noisy turbulent scenes when everyone had assailed his private enemies, if these were insignificant at least, and had overthrown them.

But this form of excitement soon died away. Pliny had a nobler quarry in view. He would hunt it to its doom with less noise, with a studied show of moderation, before the gratified eyes of his fellow Senators. His selected victim was Publicius Certus, a man of rank and note, who was actually at the time one of the two prefects of the Treasury and had therefore every reasonable prospect of obtaining the consulship next year.

Certus had incurred Pliny's dislike. Domitian had employed the man to bring a capital charge against Helvidius Priscus, a Stoic philosopher of more than ordinary repute. All the early Emperors heartily disliked "the philosophers," until Stoicism took its revenge and mounted the Imperial throne in the person of Marcus Aurelius. Certus had pressed the charge of treason home against Helvidius with remarkable vigour, to Domitian's grim satisfaction, and the unlucky Stoic was duly condemned and executed. Now the tyrant himself was dead and the accuser defenceless. Spurred on by the womenfolk of Helvidius' house, Pliny entered gleefully upon his self-chosen task of avenging the innocent.

One day at a meeting of the Senate Pliny rose from his seat at the beginning of the proceedings and asked leave of the presiding consul to introduce a formal motion for discussion. Any Senator might make such a request. Pliny's demeanour excited no suspicion in the consul's mind and leave was promptly given. But while the speaker was still dealing wordily with mere generalities the quick-witted audience caught excitedly at his drift. Someone presently was to be denounced by name —that was evident. The atmosphere became electric. There is no deliberative Assembly, ancient or modern, which is not quickly moved to passion by personal attacks on and by its members.

The president somewhat hurriedly intervened. He reversed

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his decision. Pliny must wait his usual turn to speak. The orator was quite content. The mischief was afoot. Unperturbedly he bowed to the ruling and resumed his seat. The name of "Certus" was whispered from ear to ear round the benches.

At once advocates sprang up to defend the ill and absent man, among them the father of Pliny's first wife (now dead). They warned Pliny how risky was the course on which he was adventuring. Nerva was old. Suppose a second Domitian were soon to succeed! Some few Senators joined in the attack on Certus. Pliny sat quiet, undisturbed. When at last his turn came round, then he poured out a flood of carefully prepared oratory in denunciation of his victim. The House seethed with excitement. Amid uproar and shouting the consul called for a division and then dissolved the meeting.

Pliny's motion can only have been a preliminary step towards the formal prosecution of Certus, namely one for the consideration of the case. Even if he gained a majority of votes (which is uncertain), he had to rest content with this very partial success. The Emperor's sanction was necessary for any actual bill of attainder, and Nerva refused this. Pliny must satisfy himself with the congratulations of his admiring friends and the women's thanks. He consoles himself:

> Caesar did not submit any motion about Certus to the Senate. Yet I gained my object. Not Certus but his brother prefect obtained the consulship, and Certus himself was superseded at the Treasury. So what I proposed at the end of my speech came actually to pass. "Let him," said I, "under an excellent Prince surrender a prize which he received from an abominable one."

There were other consolations as well. The speech, amplified and polished, was in due course published. Within a few days of its publication the unhappy Certus took to his bed and incontinently died. Pliny moralises with some satisfaction upon this event. The bedside of the delirious and dying man had been haunted (so they told him) by the avenging phantom of his accuser bending over him, a naked sword in hand. Complacently he concludes his letter:

> For the truth of this I dare not vouch, but 'tis a good moral if men believe it a true story.

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The real moral is different. Pliny is the best type of the refined humane generous Roman gentleman of the period, a shining example of the best Roman culture in an age of good manners. If such a man is greedy for vengeance, whatever his motive, Nerva's calm refusal to allow him gratification was as courageous as it was wise. Wrath must be restrained, not sanctioned.

So the old Emperor listened good-humouredly to covert reproaches of his tolerance. Another famous story with its more famous *mot* is characteristic of his attitude. Of all the informers employed by Domitian two had been dreaded and hated beyond the rest. One of them, Catullus Messalinus, blind, lecherous, terrible,

> Qui nunquam visae flagrabat amore puellae,
> grande et conspicuum nostro quoque tempore monstrum,[1]

had died before the master on whom he fawned. Fabricius Veiento however, "the death-dealer," the other's peer in craft and counsel, was still alive. Nerva asked him to supper. Among the Emperor's guests was one Junius Mauricus, just recalled from exile. Pliny tells the tale, a trifle ruefully perhaps:

> Nerva was supping with a few friends. Veiento was nearest him, indeed he was, you may say, reclining on his bosom. A mere mention of the fellow is enough to explain this. The talk lighted on Catullus Messalinus who, having lost his sight, had added the usual failings of a blind man to his natural ferocity. He was a man without fear, without shame, without pity, and so he was launched by Domitian all the more often against the noblest just like a missile which speeds blindly on its way. So the supper party were chatting about the scoundrel's wickedness and bloodthirsty sentiments when the Emperor himself broke in. "What d'ye think would have been the fellow's fate," said he, "if he were alive today?" "Supping with us," Mauricus growled.[2]

And Veiento probably laughed more loudly than all the rest. "It is bad enough," grumbled Fronto, one of Nerva's consuls, "to have an Emperor under whom no one may do anything. But it is worse to have an Emperor under whom everyone may do everything." Mercy followed cruelty, and this mercy provoked criticism.

[1] Juvenal, *Sat.* IV, 113–115.

[2] Pliny, *Epist.* IV, 22.

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At least Nerva, like Augustus, strove to please the Senate in his exercise of power in other respects. He had put an end to Domitian's reign of terror and enabled the Senators to breathe freely once again. He promised that no Senator should ever suffer the extreme penalty of death and consulted them freely upon affairs of State. He appointed two useful Commissions, the one an Agrarian for the purchase of lands for distribution to small-holders, the other a Financial "Economy" Commission to consider means for curtailing State expenditure. The selection of the five members of this Commission he entrusted to the Senate.[1] Informers were restrained in their activities; impudent and dangerous slaves were brought to heel; exiles were restored. Even "popular" legislation made one last transient and phantom-like appearance in the reign of Nerva. And the Emperor's loving and anxious care for the children of the poor as well as for the small farmers in Italy deserve separate treatment later.[2]

None the less Nerva initiated no new constitutional era, and toyed with no idea of "constitutional monarchy." As wise as Vespasian, as kindly as Hadrian, he was every whit as much an "absolute ruler" as either of these Emperors. It is a "monarchy" still, as in Flavian days. Nerva's will was law, *if* the army was satisfied to let him enforce it. One ominous hint of danger in this respect claimed his earnest attention. It must have been a real grief to the gentle and sickly old man when the troops compelled him to inflict signal punishment upon the murderers of Domitian. Then Nerva realised that to prevent any further development of military licence he must associate with his name that of a man whom the Roman armies both admired and feared.

§ 2. *The adoption of Trajan.*

The Roman Senate ingeniously had chosen as successor to the dead Domitian an elderly man without any son of his own. Nerva, uninfluenced by any family feeling and anxious, with good reason, himself to select his successor, surveyed the field of possible candidates and made a good choice, that of a well-known soldier in the very prime of life.

[1] Pliny, *Epist.* II, 1, 9; VII, 31, 4.

[2] See next chapter.

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It has been recently declared[1] that the Senatorial and philosophic opposition to the Flavian Emperors had been very largely caused by Vespasian's dynastic policy. Those who now maintained that a Roman Emperor should be the ideal king, not the military tyrant, the servant rather than the despot of his people, could not approve any principle of succession save the free and unfettered choice of the best man. Only a fond parent's blind partiality could claim that his son was so ideal a character. Nerva's acceptance of the philosophic principle had the happiest results, and his successors one after another followed the example which he first set with equally wise choice and good fortune until, in an unhappy moment for the world, the philosopher himself abandoned the search for the best man and Marcus Aurelius secured the succession for his villainous son Commodus. No doubt it was easier for Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius to do homage to the theory of the Ideal Prince, for one and all had no sons. In Marcus Aurelius the natural affection of the father triumphed over the consistency of the philosopher.

M. Ulpius Traianus, the "Trajan" of history and legend, was born on September 18, A.D. 53. His forty-third birthday thus fell on the very day of Domitian's assassination. He was born at a small Spanish town, Italica, near Seville, which was also the birthplace of his own adopted son and eventual successor, Hadrian.[2] This chance fact certainly does not justify those who love to discover "new eras" in declaring that Trajan marks the beginning of yet another era of the kind, viz. one when "non-Italians" could rule the Roman Empire. For Trajan was every whit as good a Roman in essentials as any of his contemporaries. He belonged to a family recently "ennobled" among the patricians. His father had been consul and governor of Syria and of Asia. He himself had climbed the ladder of preferment by the steps customary to those of Senatorial birth. After serving in Syria on his father's staff he had been praetor under Domitian and then legate of the legion VII Gemina in Spain, whence the Emperor had summoned

[1] Cf. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* pp. 110–116.
[2] For Italica see my *Life of Hadrian*, pp. 9–13.

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him at the end of A.D. 88 to help suppress the rising of Antonius on the Rhine.[1] The consulship three years later was the fitting reward for his services. Nerva soon after his own accession sent him to Upper Germany as governor. He was vigorous, experienced, loyal, a good soldier, a trusted administrator, a wise, plain, practical man of striking appearance. Nerva, like Augustus, had that most valuable faculty in a ruler, an "eye for men." Seeking for an adopted son and heir to his power, the old Emperor chose Trajan. It was a distinct advantage that the object of his choice himself had no son.

With careful observance of all due formalities and rites, Nerva on October 27, A.D. 97, in the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitol in Rome, adopted Trajan as his son. "The assembly of men and gods"[2] were witnesses to the ceremony. Trajan himself was absent in Germany and knew nothing of the Emperor's intention, we are told. "Iam Caesar, iam Imperator, iam Germanicus, absens et ignarus."[2] On this same day he was proclaimed as "consors tribuniciae potestatis" and "socius Imperii." So, during the short remainder of Nerva's life, he held under that Emperor the same position as "colleague" which Titus had enjoyed under his father Vespasian. The army of the Danube in Moesia hastened to send its congratulations to him on his adoption. When Galba in his senility thirty years earlier had selected Piso as his adopted son and destined successor he thereby had given the last and the most signal proof of his famous "incapacity to rule" by choosing a man whom, despite all possible moral and civic qualities, the troops despised heartily. Nerva made no such mistake. On his deathbed three months later the old Emperor could close his eyes in peace, knowing that, so far as the processes of law and of publicity allowed, he had made everything smooth for the instant accession to power of one whom no one, Senator or soldier, could disparage.

And neither at the time of his adoption nor at that of his actual accession was there any sign of challenge to Trajan in any quarter of the Empire. His absence in the Rhineland made no difference. He was at Cologne when Nerva died. In the race

[1] See above, p. 110.

[2] Pliny, *Panegyricus*, 8.

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to bring the tidings to the new Prince his own youthful cousin and ward, the young military officer Hadrian, bore away the prize in spite of all the attempts made by a sour and elderly brother-in-law to hinder him.[1] Such haste however was wasted on Trajan. Dacia was instant in the new Emperor's thoughts and he actually spent the first winter of his reign, A.D. 98–99, upon the Danube, coming south to Rome only in the spring of the latter year. Always Trajan put the army and Rome's safety first.

It was on January 25, A.D. 98, that Nerva died at Rome. Few men had done her better service than this old noble in so brief a space of time. His end, like his short reign, was peace. War clouds were gathering on the northern frontier. It was not his ill fortune to linger on until the fierce storm broke. "Viderint iuniores." He himself had finished his work for Rome.

> Why should a man desire in any way
> To vary from the kindly race of men,
> Or pass beyond the goal of ordinance
> Where all should pause, as is most meet for all?

Only an Emperor mistrustful of the future, only a king doubting his own son, may misread the legend of Tithonus.

> O my poor kingdom! sick with civil blows.
> When that my care could not withhold thy riots,
> What wilt thou do when riot is thy care?

No such ghosts as haunted the death-bed of the dying English king could distress the last hours of Nerva's well-spent life.

§ 3. *Trajan's repute.*

In their praise of Trajan, writers, both ancient and modern, have exhausted the language of approbation.[2] Contemporary accounts of his Principate, of which there were many, have for the most part perished. There was doubtless little restraint in the flattery which they exhibited. Even the dignified and disillusioned Tacitus is roused for the moment to a sombre

[1] See my *Life of Hadrian*, pp. 20–21.

[2] e.g. Von Domaszewski among the latest, who is refreshingly encomiastic of both Trajan and his wife Plotina. (*Gesch. der röm. Kaiser*, II, pp. 171–172.)

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enthusiasm by the contemplation of his pattern Prince. Pliny is honestly fulsome. The Court poets must have been to some extent hampered by earlier efforts under the Flavians. It has been remarked that Martial's adulation of Domitian, "gross as a mountain... generally takes the form of comparing him with the Supreme Being, to the disadvantage of the latter."[1] Clearly Trajan had better claim to the Olympian throne. But posterity soon wearies of panegyric and gladly lets its literature die.

More melancholy is the entire disappearance, except for one single precious sentence, of the Emperor's own "Commentaries," the "Dacica," which in military interest might well have rivalled Caesar's own.[2] The monumental record of Trajan's wars and activities, carved in the superb realistic style of the age and never again equalled until the days of the Florentine sculptors of the Renaissance, still exists in Rome and at Beneventum. But the monuments sorely need a plain soldierly narrative of events for their perfect interpretation. As it is we, like young boys in a library, find little to satisfy us save pictures and those with no letterpress beneath them.

Pliny published his "Panegyric" in A.D. 100–101. For events after this date only the miserable excerpts of Dio Cassius[3] supply us with any consecutive narrative. To these Byzantine or monkish selections from the wordy writings of a commonplace Greek of the third century we are reduced for the framework of the history of a Trajan. Suetonius has deserted us. Even the "Augustan History" has not begun. A mere Spartianus would have been welcome. Ammianus Marcellinus' story of the second century is lost. Gibbon has summed the matter up in his own stately language:

> It is sincerely to be lamented that, whilst we are fatigued with the disgustful relation of Nero's crimes and follies, we are reduced to collect the actions of Trajan from the glimmerings of an abridgment or the doubtful light of a panegyric. There remains however one panegyric far removed beyond the suspicion of flattery. Above two hundred and fifty years after the death of Trajan, the Senate, in pouring out the customary acclamations on the accession of a new

[1] Mackail, *Latin Literature*, p. 194.

[2] It is generally assumed that this one sentence does imply the existence of such "Commentaries."

[3] Book LXVIII.

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Emperor, wished that he might surpass the felicity of Augustus and the virtue of Trajan.[1]

"Felicior Augusto, melior Traiano."[2] So man reaches vainly after his ideal.

Mediaeval legend enshrined Trajan's memory with affection and inspired Dante to those noble lines in which he sings of the escape of this one pagan from the eternal pangs of hell, by answer of the Divine Mercy to the supplications of Pope Gregory. The tale was one of the favourite tales of the Middle Ages, however grimly ecclesiastics of the time disliked its moral.

Trajan was one day riding forth to war at the head of his cavalry when a widow woman pressed forward and seized the bridle of his horse.

"Lord Trajan," she cried, "avenge me upon those who have slain my son."

"Wait, woman," said the Emperor, "until I return."

Then she, "And how, my Lord, if thou dost *not* return?"

"He who comes after me," the Emperor said, "will do thee justice."

"How," she made answer, "will that other's good deed profit thee, if thou art unmindful of thine own?"

Then Trajan stayed his horse, saying

"Comfort thee now. For I must do my duty ere I go, as justice and pity bid me."

So he avenged her upon those who had slain her son. Then he rode on and discomfited his foes.

Many years afterwards Pope Gregory, as he gazed upon Trajan's Forum, was told the tale. And he was greatly moved, and prayed with tears earnestly to God for Trajan's soul. And there came to him a voice from Heaven, saying, "I have heard thy petition and grant pardon to Trajan."

And so Gregory won his "grand victory" over Hell.

Were not five centuries of torment enough to appease even the savagery of theologians?

> Ora conosce quanto caro costa
> Non seguir Cristo, per l' esperienza
> Di questa dolce vita e dell' opposta.

[1] Gibbon, ed. Bury, I, pp. 74–75.

[2] Eutropius, VIII, 5.

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Dante was merciful. But the clemency which released an unbaptised pagan from everlasting anguish provoked indignant denial by ecclesiastical champions of a triumphant Christianity. The legend was denounced as being, we are proud to discover, an unworthy invention by the English Church. Latin churchmen consented at best grudgingly to release the Emperor for the time being from the flames of Hell but refused him the felicity of Paradise, reserving him for the judgment of the Last Day. That a Saint also should pray for the soul of one long since damned and that his prayer should be heard presented grave difficulties, which ingenious theories of predestination alone could solve. It added to the perplexities or at least to the piquancy of the situation that few men insisted more strongly upon the futility of prayers for the damned than did Pope Gregory himself.

It was the distinctive doctrine of the Christian theologians that sufferings more excruciating than any the imagination could conceive were reserved for millions, and might be the lot of the most benevolent and heroic of mankind.... Can we wonder that there were some who refused to regard it as an Evangel?[1]

Trajan is a splendid soldierly figure, a man, as presented in many a noteworthy statue and bust of his own day, strong, resolute, virile, a military Prince in very truth. An Oxford scholar of a past and forgotten age patronises, and by patronising depreciates. Cato, he wrote, "had he been an Emperor, would have been such an Emperor as Trajan, a man whom he probably resembled, both in the goodness of his intentions and in the limited powers of his mind."[2]

This is not Trajan, conqueror of Dacia, victorious over Parthia, Lord of a golden age.[3]

[1] Lecky, *History of Rationalism*, I, p. 345. The germ of the Trajan-Gregory legend is a sentence in Dio Cassius, LXIX, 6, concerning Hadrian (not Trajan) and an importunate widow, and perhaps some (misinterpreted) relief in the Roman Forum. The earliest evidence for the mediaeval legend seems to be Paul the Deacon in the eighth century (*Vita S. Greg.* IV, 44). Cf. Thomas Aquinas, *Summ. Theol.* III, Suppl. 71, 5, Dudden, *Gregory the Great*, I, pp. 48–49 and references. Dante has three allusions to the tale: *Purg.* X, 70–96; *Paradiso*, XX, 43–48 and 106–117.

[2] Goldwin Smith, "The last republicans of Rome," *Lectures and Essays*, p. 301.

[3] "The golden age of Trajan and the Antonines," Gibbon, ed. Bury, I, p. 79.

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§ 4. *Trajan and the Senate.*

The new Emperor was no sentimentalist, nor was he gravely perturbed by reflections on the fate of the murdered Domitian. He wielded a power as absolute and exercised an authority as unquestioned. The difference between the two rulers lay rather in the character than in the nature of the power of the two men. Each was genuinely an autocrat.

Following Nerva's example, Trajan treated the Senate and its members with friendly courtesy. "He was beloved by all and feared by none, save by his enemies," says Dio Cassius. He chose Senators as his companions in the chase, in banquets, in counsels and deliberations. He loved to jest with them, and paid them visits in their own houses unattended by any guard. He restrained the troops from any show of pride or of insolence at their expense.

The Senators admitted him ruler. They found that he delighted in titles of honour. Every member of his house, man or woman, was systematically deified. He asserted clearly the distinctive royalty of his family and himself. "Dominus" he was, even though he good-naturedly rejected Domitian's pet addition of "Deus" to the title. The Senate had little of importance under Trajan. When they mismanaged one of their own provinces he took it temporarily from their supervision and sent his own commissary Pliny to restore Bithynia's finances. The French historian of his reign says truly that "the history of the Senate under Trajan shows nothing but an exchange of compliments between the Emperor and that high Assembly."[1] Senators talked interminably. Lawyers harangued hour after hour, rejoicing in their "freedom." The subjects of debate were trivial, the disputes at law petty. At times even a Pliny's genial self-satisfaction is vaguely disturbed by a subconscious feeling that, in spite of all the frothy talk, nothing really mattered. The art of wasting time is inherent in all government by discussion. When there is the discussion without the government that art has attained its zenith. Even the Roman (or the modern)

[1] de la Berge, p. 87 (now unthankfully declared "out of date").

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dinner-party could not display it to greater perfection than did Trajan's Senate or Centumviral Court. How tiresome are Pliny's letters concerning the proceedings in Court and Curia! The patient Messius Maximus is treated to a long discourse concerning the ballot and its introduction into the Senate. Then Pliny, in apologetic strain, concludes:

"I have written this, first to write something new to you, secondly because it lets me say something of State affairs, and the fewer such chances we have than had our ancestors so much the more promptly must we seize the few we have. Really too one gets sick of just saying over and over again 'How d'ye do?' and 'I hope you are well.' Let our letters concern themselves at least with something that is not petty, trivial, of mere domestic concern.

"Everything indeed," he continues, significantly enough, "is subject to a single man's will and pleasure. He, for the general good, has taken upon himself solely the cares and labours of government. And yet by a wholesome dispensation, if I may so call it, some tiny streams, as it were, flow down to us also from that most bountiful source, which we may quaff ourselves and administer by letter to absent friends."[1]

Such a trial indeed before the Senate as that of the ex-governor of Bithynia, Julius Bassus, for extortion could exhibit that body as dealing with matters less insipid and tasteless. The excitement of the occasion is reflected in the length of the speeches delivered and of the description which Pliny wrote of it to Ursus after the fourth day of the trial. Pliny, counsel for the defence, spoke his full five hours, though troubled by an adjournment in the midst of his oration. His junior counsel spoke for four hours. Prosecuting counsel replied, the second of them "presuming to take up the time of the Senate and that somewhat largely after two such eloquent persons (consulars too!) had spoken before him." Indeed this Theophanes had the bad taste and assurance to continue speaking up to nightfall "and even later. They had to bring in lights." The Senate, declared another speaker, had the power "et mitigare leges et intendere," "and indeed," adds Pliny, "it has this power." This Senatorial prerogative does possess a somewhat wider

[1] Pliny, *Ep.* III, 20.

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interest. It was dangerous and sinister. But it can hardly be stressed as proof of Senatorial independence under Trajan. The upshot of the whole wordy matter was that Bassus had his "acta" rescinded, though he retained his seat in the Senate, and even in due course, two years later, in A.D. 105, became consul. "You may look upon this letter," writes Pliny to his friend, "as just the forerunner of the full and pregnant speech which you will get from me presently, but not at once. So great a matter must not be revised *leviter et cursim*."[1]

An ungrateful posterity has let the great oration disappear.

Quite recently however a scholar has warned us aptly that we must not too lightly disparage the Senate of the first half of the second century. We must keep separate the questions of its political power (which was in very truth non-existent) and of its moral influence (which perhaps was never so great).

> The enlightened rule of the Antonines [and we may carry this back to Hadrian and to Trajan before him] was based on the support of the educated upper classes throughout the Roman world, and its aim was to widen this basis as much as possible by reinforcing these classes, by raising the standards of life of the lower classes, and by spreading city civilisation all over the provinces.
>
> The results were of far-reaching importance. The Senate of Rome, which by its constitution represented the cream of the educated classes of the Empire, gained enormously in power.
>
> Not in political power: administrative and legislative functions were concentrated in the hands of the Emperors, and they never thought of sharing it with the Senate. But its moral power, the prestige which it had in the eyes of the educated classes everywhere, constantly grew; it rested on the fact that the Senate was the true representative of their aspirations and that its conduct was in harmony with those aspirations.
>
> Anyone who reads the correspondence of Pliny will realise how high was the standard of requirements to which the Senators had to conform in order to maintain the authority of the body. Nor can we deny that a large portion of the Senate satisfied these requirements, and that it was in the main a body conscious both of its dignity and of its duty towards the Empire.[2]

A Cicero in the fervour of his passion for "liberty" and for

[1] *Ep.* IV, 9.

[2] Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, p. 344.

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the institutions of a free Republic would have rested ill-content with the Roman Senate of the second century of our era, and it is hard to forget Cicero and his ideals. These once forgotten, a Pliny must be allowed his enthusiasm for narrating the proceedings of that body of which he was so conspicuous a member, the Senate of Trajan's day.

§ 5. *Trajan's care for Italy.*

The welfare of Italy was always dear to the early Emperors of Rome. Trajan surpassed all others in devotion to the Home Land, and many relics of his public works in Italy remain to this day. Harbours, roads (with their bridges and commemorative arches), aqueducts, and other useful works testify to his generous energy.

The small town of Porto, opposite Ostia, derives its name from the harbour—portus—which Claudius the Emperor built in A.D. 45–46 for the greater security of the corn-ships from Africa and Egypt on whose coming the food-supply of Rome itself depended. Ostia itself was always being silted up by the fretting turbid Tiber, into whose yellow flood its ancient ruins crumble slowly away. Antium to the south was too small, Puteoli too distant, to guarantee the regularity of the import trade.[1] Many a merchant ship came to grief upon the sandy coast of Latium. The new Claudian harbour on the north bank of the river covered 172 acres. Trajan added a new basin, octagonal in shape, lower down stream, of 78 acres in extent, and cut a straight channel to connect it with the open sea two miles away. This canal is still used by the fishermen of the tiny hamlet of Fiumicino at its exit into the sea. But Trajan's harbour is a reedy mere and Claudius' is but a great dry grass-covered depression in the soil.

"New cuts" of the kind should render floods upstream less likely, as Oxford knows and owes one of her many debts of gratitude to Jowett for this. But there come seasons when the river mocks at the puny efforts to curb its violence. None could stay Tiber in its wrath. In A.D. 109 "under a merciless and

[1] Cf. my *History of Nero*, pp. 77–78.

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murky sky" there befell one of the worst inundations from which ancient Imperial Rome suffered. And still to this day the "ravenous river-god" comes ever and again rushing over the embankments upon the city. Both Claudius and Trajan had hoped to free Rome from the "peril of the flood," and hoped in vain.[1]

To the north, upon the lonely coast of Etruria, forest-clad, dangerous, ever a prey to malaria, there was another little harbour for coasting-craft, called Centumcellae in Roman days, Civitavecchia today. Trajan reconstructed its harbour with elaborate care in his love for the tiny place. Pliny, who was summoned there by him to "Council" upon legal business in A.D. 106 (or A.D. 107), has left us a lyrical account of the new Imperial harbour-works.

The beautiful villa stands in the midst of the greenest meadows. It is set high up overlooking the shore where in a bay a harbour, and an excellent harbour too, is being made. Its left-hand mole, which is now finished, is of immensely solid masonry. The right-hand mole is now being built. An island is emerging at the harbour mouth, planned to check and break the sea when this is driven shorewards by the wind, and to give a passage to ships at either end. The manner of its building is well worth seeing. A broad-bottomed barge brings huge rocks to the spot, and these, being cast down into the water one on top of another, stay in their place by their own weight and so gradually mount up in a kind of rampart. It is already above the surface, looking like a backbone of rock. When the waves dash upon it, it breaks them and tosses them an immense height skywards. The uproar is prodigious and the sea is white all round it. Presently wooden piles are to be driven into the rocks to make it look like a natural island as time goes on. This harbour is to have the name of its author—indeed it bears it already—and it will prove of the greatest possible use as a haven upon a coast which has no harbours along a very great stretch of shore.[2]

Those who have ever seen the treacherous Mediterranean break, "when the wind blows shorewards," on the lonely coast

[1] Pliny, *Epist.* VIII, 17; *C.I.L.* VI, 964; XIV, pp. 5–6; Dessau 207 and 5797*a*; Cohen, II, 365–366. Cf. de la Berge, *Trajan*, pp. 103 sq. On the growth of Ostia at the expense of Puteoli in the second century because of the decay of the Campanian export trade see Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* pp. 150–151.

[2] Pliny, *Epist.* VI, 31. The harbour is depicted on coins (Eckhel, VI, 426).

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between the mouths of Arno and of Tiber will appraise the better Trajan's thought at Centumcellae for mariner and fisherman.

The Roman harbour still serves Italy. Pliny's *forte* however was not marine engineering, and the small island at its mouth is not artificial. It no longer bears the Emperor's name. But, in the low hills three miles inland, the *Bagni di Traiano* still recall the "nomen auctoris."

The third of Trajan's Italian harbours was Ancona, set midway on the long Adriatic coast of Italy.

Five centuries before, Syracusan voyagers, exiles from the tyranny of Dionysius, had colonised the place and named it Ancon—"the elbow"—from the curving promontory which sheltered the port.[1] There the settlers built a famous temple, the "domus Veneris quam Dorica sustinet Ancon."[2] Its columns still adorn Ancona's cathedral of San Ciriaco, a church all too severe and plain save for its glorious portal. It is this temple, crowned by the statue of the goddess, which (it is hardly to be doubted) is carved upon one of the scenes of the Trajan Column at Rome and so proves that the Emperor used Ancona as his port of departure for the Second Dacian War in A.D. 105.[3]

Ten years later Trajan, at his own cost, rebuilt the harbour. And here an arch, still the glory of the busy town, bears his name with that of Plotina his wife and of "diva Marciana" his sister. As its inscription records, the arch was erected "providentissimo principi, quod accessum Italiae, hoc etiam addito ex pecunia sua portu, tutiorem navigantibus reddiderit."[4] Raised on a platform scaled by a score of steps, with four simple Corinthian columns on either front and massive pediment, the "arco di Traiano" at Ancona, though unadorned with sculptured reliefs, may vie in beauty at least with the Emperor's Arch at Beneventum itself.

This second arch commemorates one, and the chief, of Trajan's roads in Italy. But this road also had its value for

[1] Strabo, V, p. 241. [2] Juvenal, IV, 40; cf. Catullus, 36, 13.
[3] Scene LXXIX (Cichorius). The identification, due to Cichorius, is practically certain and rarely, if ever, now doubted. See below, p. 276.
[4] Dessau 298.

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voyagers across the Adriatic. For the great new *Via Traiana* was built in A.D. 109–110[1] to expedite the overland journey from Rome to her greatest eastern Italian port, Brundisium. Replacing rude mountain trackways between Beneventum, where it began, and the harbour, the new road would have rejoiced the hearts of Maecenas and of Horace. "It brought new life to the coast towns of Apulia."[2] Its length in all was 207 Roman miles (some 200 English) in its course from Beneventum by way of Equus Tuticus, Aecae, Canusium, Bari, and Gnathia to Brundisium. The grateful authorities of Brundisium erected a statue of Trajan in A.D. 110, the year when the work was finished.[3] The Emperor entrusted the charge of his new road to special curators chosen from the highest, the Senatorial, class. Q. Roscius Pompeius Falco, governor at one time of Moesia under Trajan, of Britain and of Asia under Hadrian, held this curatorship,[4] as did Aulus Platorius Nepos, the builder of Hadrian's Wall in Britain,[5] and other men of this same high rank in succeeding reigns.[6] In the third century its care belonged to the second, the equestrian, class of officials,[7] inasmuch as, for all its usefulness, the new "Trajan Way" had its starting-point at a local town and not at Rome itself.[8]

Beneventum itself is today a quiet town full of the remains of antiquity, fragments of columns, altars, inscriptions, some built upside down into the walls of houses, and of the Duomo with its splendid bronze doors. Noteworthy is its ruined theatre, noteworthy the glorious view over the Calore valley to the snow-clad mountain tops beyond. But the one abiding glory of the ancient city is Trajan's Arch, "distinctly the most famous thing in Benevento."

[1] Dessau 291.

[2] Pelham, commenting on the increase in the number of these towns in the Peutinger Table as compared with the Antonine Itinerary.

[3] *C.I.L.* IX, 37.

[4] Dessau 1035, 1036, cf. 1038.

[5] Dessau 1052. See my *Hadrian*, p. 162.

[6] Dessau 1059, 1093.

[7] Dessau 1371.

[8] For the road see Mommsen *ad C.I.L.* IX, pp. 592–598. The actual name Via Traiana is found only on coins, Eckhel, VI, p. 421; Cohen, Traj. No. 553. Mapped in *C.I.L.* IX, *ad fin.* It is administered later in conjunction with other roads, and must be one of the "Tres Traianae" of Dessau 1059, 1093. I have not discovered the explanation of this term.

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The reign of Trajan marks the Empire at its highest pitch of extent and power, at that highest pitch which, in its own nature, comes just before the beginning of decay. His days saw, too, the highest pitch of architectural magnificence.... And the arch of Beneventum marks the reign of Trajan, and with it the Roman Empire, at what was really its highest point.[1]

Like other Roman arches similarly connected with the great roads, the Arch of Beneventum was built by the Senate and people of Rome as a "Janus Viae," to mark where the new Via Traiana began. It was inscribed in honour of Trajan "Optimus," "Augustus," "Germanicus," "Dacicus," "Fortissimus princeps," in the year A.D. 114.[2] Voted in A.D. 114 it may have taken some four years to erect.[3] Like the golden gate of Constantinople and the golden gate of Spalato,[4] it too bears the name of the "Porta aurea." The many sculptured reliefs with which it is adorned are its own, of contemporary date, and genuine, as those of the yet more ornate Arch of Constantine in Rome, with all its reliefs pillaged from earlier monuments,[5] are not. There is no reason to follow a German's fanciful suggestion that it was Hadrian who placed the sculptures upon Trajan's Arch with intent to prove thereby his title to the succession, in that he alone besides Trajan is depicted as wearing an Imperator's garb. Still more grotesque is the same German's suggestion that Hadrian means to show his dislike of Trajan's annexations in the East by the "calm" demeanour exhibited by him in the scene depicting Mesopotamia's homage.[6]

The principal face of the arch is the western one, facing the town of Beneventum. Another German[7] thinks the eastern face the more important of the two. But it is not the sculptor's or the builder's aim to greet the victorious Emperor returning from the East. Brundisium would in this case have been the selected site, not Beneventum. The artist's main design, it has been held, is to celebrate Trajan as "Optimus." For this title

[1] E. A. Freeman, *Studies of Travel*, "Italy," pp. 270–271. The whole sketch of the town is as charming as it is deserved.
[2] Dessau 296.
[3] Rostovtzeff, p. 587.
[4] Freeman.
[5] But *not* Trajanic. See note below.
[6] Von Domaszewski, pp. 185–186. But Rostovtzeff accepts both suggestions!
[7] Petersen.

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according to one authority had, in A.D. 114, been but recently conferred upon him, and in it he was known to take especial pride.[1] It was shared by him with Jupiter alone. Therefore one of the great reliefs is that where the "Capitoline Triad," Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, with four attendant deities, make ready to greet the Emperor as he comes to meet them.

But this is too narrow a view. The Arch of Beneventum commemorates many aspects of Trajan's Imperial work.

> Into the sculptures of the Arch of Beneventum there is crowded ...a wealth of meaning which makes the monument a summary of all that Trajan achieved for Italy and the Empire.[2]

And in these sculptures

> It is the Emperor who is the cynosure of all eyes, whether of the spectators cut in stone in the relief above or of those standing below in flesh and blood.[3]

The sculptured reliefs fall into three groups, those of the Town side, the Country side, and of the passage archway. The "Town side" reliefs show the relations of Trajan to Rome and Italy in four main scenes. The first is the reception of Trajan by the gods; the second, his reception by the Romans; the third depicts his "colonial grants" to his veterans; and the fourth shows him with his merchants at Porto, his new Tiber harbour, the "greatest of all his works."[4] The "Country side," similarly in four scenes, represents Trajan's services to the Empire, his conquests and his glories. In the first, the gods of the Danube provinces greet the Emperor. Here are Liber and Libera from Dacia, Diana from Moesia, Silvanus from Illyricum. They seem meant to celebrate not so much the annexation of Dacia as Rome's "work of cultural development" on the

[1] Dio, LXVIII, 23, 2. So Dessau on 845, and the title does not seem to appear in earlier inscriptions. Pliny however in A.D. 100 uses it and it appears on coins from A.D. 105 onwards. Cf. *Panegyricus*, 2.

[2] Stuart Jones, "Notes on Roman Historical Sculptures" (*Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. III, No. 2, p. 246). So Rostovtzeff takes the broader view.

[3] F. Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, p. 108. Wickhoff's description of the arch, pp. 107–110, is from the point of view of the art critic and not of the historian.

[4] So Lanciani to me, thirty years ago. But Von Domaszewski finds here the business men of Rome, the merchants of the Forum Boarium.

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frontier.[1] In the second, Mesopotamia does homage to the Prince. In the third are Oriental satraps and envoys bringing gifts. In the fourth, Germany takes the oath of allegiance. Justly it is the provinces which adorn the eastern face of the arch.

Finally are the two scenes of the archway passage itself, set there for the special delight of the good folk of Beneventum as they fared through it continually upon their daily occupations. There, easy to be seen, was on the one hand the picture of the "Alimenta," the happy children and their grateful parents. (The "Ligures Baebiani" belonged to Beneventum.)[2] On the other was their Emperor doing sacrifice, as he sets out upon his march along the new highway towards his conquests in the East, a "dies mirabilis" for the wondering town.

Here indeed is a pictorial summary of Trajan's work for Rome, the achievements of that Emperor who, in the words of the greatest of Italian archaeologists, "executed no work that was not of public utility."[3]

"The weak point of triumphal arches," remarks the typical Englishman, "is that they are of no use. They do not...serve any purpose in the ordinary economy of things. They are purely monumental, set up to commemorate something or somebody, but in no way to help on men's daily affairs, public or private....There is, therefore, something a little unsatisfactory in the whole class of triumphal arches, and it may even be that a slightly ludicrous element is thrown in when we find that the immediate occasion for rearing this record of the life and exploits of the 'fortissimus princeps' was the repair of the Appian Way (*sic*).

"But," continues even this discontented utilitarian, "it does not become us to find fault with any built and graven monument, specially with one of a time of which we have so few written monuments as the memorable reign of Trajan."[4]

[1] For a rival interpretation see Rostovtzeff, Plate XLVIII, p. 308.

[2] See below, chapter IX, § 2, for the "Alimenta."

[3] Lanciani to me in Rome, thirty years ago.

[4] E. A. Freeman, *op. cit.* pp. 268–270. In much the same spirit the famous Cambridge economist of an earlier generation, Dr W. Cunningham, disparaged the public works of Pericles as "unproductive," serving "no economic purpose but that of display." (*Western Civilization* ("Ancient Times"), pp. 119, 120.)

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Note: The chief modern writers on the Arch of Beneventum are:

(1) E. Petersen, *L'Arco di Traiano a Benevento, ap. Mittheilungen des Kais. Deutschen Arch. Instituts*, Röm. Abtheilung VII, Rome, 1892, pp. 239–264—a description and interpretation of the reliefs in order.

(2) A. von Domaszewski, *Die politische Bedeutung des Traiansbogen in Benevent, ap. Jahreshefte des Oester. Archäol. Inst. in Wien*, II, Vienna, 1899, pp. 173–192, with small photographs of the sculptures.

(3) Mrs Arthur Strong, *Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine*, London, 1907, pp. 214–223, a convenient, if rather flowery, summary of (2).

(4) M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, pp. 587–588, who derives his note from other writers on the arch, viz. A. Meomartini, W. Weber, S. Reinach, Bellissima. "It is to be regretted" (as the Russian so often says) that even he failed to discover Prof. Stuart Jones' valuable paper mentioned below.[1]

The rest of Trajan's "road-making" in Italy was of the nature of ordinary repairs. Yet this was on such a scale that it was this feature of Trajan's work and Trajan's name beyond all others which, some three-quarters of a century later, suggested themselves to Claudius Galen, in his old age Court physician to Marcus Aurelius and his small son Commodus. In an eloquent passage in the most famous of his innumerable treatises Galen sought for a simile, striking if remote, to his own labours. Hippocrates, his idol and exemplar, had left much in medicine and medical research still needing completion. This was Galen's task: he would repair, remake, render easier, the ancient ways which the Greek scientist had opened up:

Just as Trajan in days gone by[2] repaired all the roads in Italy. Those parts of them that were waterlogged and muddy he paved with stones or raised on high embankments. Where they were overgrown and rough with briars and bushes, he cleared these away, and threw bridges over rivers hard to cross. Where the road was unduly long, there he cut a second shorter route. If the way were hard through climbing some lofty steep, he diverted it through easier places. And if the road were infested by beasts or desert, he would turn it and lead it through habitable lands, and straighten out the rough ways. Wonder not then if while we bear witness to Hippocrates

[1] I may note here that the reliefs on the Arch of Constantine in Rome, usually supposed to be Trajanic from the Forum of Trajan, were recently shown to be of Flavian date so far as the medallions, and of Marcus Aurelius' date so far as the panels, are concerned. To this effect Stuart Jones (*Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. III, No. 2, pp. 229–251). The wheel goes round. Hadrian now and not Domitian is to claim the "hunting medallions." Cf. *J.R.S.* XV (1925), p. 282.

[2] ὁ Τοαῖανὸς ἐκεῖνος.

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of his finding of the method of healing, we have set ourselves to write concerning the very matter. For not even so was the whole thereof discovered, but it was lacking in those things of which I have just made mention; and so I have come to this writing, finding that no one of the men before me has completed the method.[1]

Here we must bid farewell to the physician and his ingenious comparison. But fragments of stone themselves, the haphazard relics which have survived the centuries, bear testimony to the truth of his comparison in the following cases.

Domitian had constructed a road from Puteoli to Naples. Upon the line of this Via Domitiana or as a bypass road Nerva had begun a Via Puteolana. In A.D. 102 Trajan completed "his father's" work.[2] Nero first had built the Via Sublacensis, the road diverging from the Via Valeria near Carsioli and leading up the brawling Anio to Subiaco, most charming of little cities, where the Emperor had a delightsome villa, close by the springs which fed two of Rome's aqueducts, the Aqua Marcia and the Anio Novus.[3] Trajan "restored" the road to Subiaco in A.D. 103.[4] On the Via Latina he rebuilt a bridge over the Liris near Fregellae in A.D. 105,[5] and, in A.D. 109, another bridge on the second of the two great southern highways, the Via Appia, between Fundi and Tarracina, which had "collapsed through age."[6] In A.D. 111 the Via Salaria, a main route to the east of Italy, was threatened by a landslide between Rieti and Antroduco on the river Velino near Paterno. Trajan "substructionem contra labem montis fecit."[7] On the Great North Road, the Via Flaminia, where it crossed the rocky valley of the Metaurus river near Fossombrone, Trajan in A.D. 115 built or rebuilt its bridge,[8] near the famous piercing of the rock by the Furlo tunnel which Vespasian as censor had constructed in A.D. 77:

> Despiciturque vagus praerupta valle Metaurus
> Qua mons arte patens vivo se perforat arcu
> Admittitque viam sectae per viscera rupis,

[1] Galen, *De methodo medendi*, IX, 8; ed. Kühn, vol. X, pp. 632–633.
[2] *C.I.L.* X, 6926–6928 and 6931.
[3] Frontinus, *De Aquis*, 7; cf. my *Nero*, p. 134.
[4] *C.I.L.* IX, 5971.
[5] *C.I.L.* X, 6890.
[6] *C.I.L.* X, 6853.
[7] *C.I.L.* IX, 5947.
[8] Dessau 299.

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as the latest of poets, Claudian, sings. Trajan's bridge is discoverable no longer. Vespasian's record still greets the wanderer on the road who travels southwards to climb to the oak forests of Jupiter Apenninus and pass through the hills to Rome.[1]

Besides roads and bridges there are other works of Trajan for the good of Italy to delay us before we too reach the city. Concerning two of these works there exists some exaggeration of idea. Among the grandiose plans entertained by Julius Caesar and frustrated by his murder were three Italian projects, "to drain the Pomptine marshes, to let out the waters of the Fucine Lake, and to construct a road from the Upper Sea over the ridge of the Apennines to the Tiber."[2] Trajan's equivalent for the third of these plans was his Via Traiana. He did *not* drain the Pomptine marshes, though he has been credited with this. What he did here was to strengthen the foundations of the road which ran through the marshes and repair its bridges, as Dio Cassius expressly records;[3] but in some other respects besides he showed his interest in the Roman Campagna. The nobles of Augustan times had possessed many villas in this district. By confiscation and bequest many of these country estates had become Imperial property under Nero and Domitian. The villas fell into decay, and today's lonely solitude began to creep over the ancient scene. Trajan sought to rekindle the prosperity of the Campagna. Settlers were brought in to old decaying towns here as elsewhere, and the Emperor discouraged the emigration of colonists from Italy to settlements overseas, perhaps following Nerva's example in this.[4] Suburban land near Rome also appreciated in price, thanks to a special measure of Trajan's, concerning which Pliny writes a short and most interesting letter, of date A.D. 107.

Do you know that the price of land has gone up, especially of suburban land? The cause of this sudden advance[5] has been much discussed. At the last elections the Senate gave voice to most credit-

[1] *C.I.L.* XI, 6106; Claudian, *In VI Cons. Honorii*, 502, 503. For a description of this road see my *Civil War and Rebellion in the Roman Empire*, pp. 209–210.

[2] Suetonius, *Julius*, 44, 3. [3] LXVIII, 15.

[4] *Vita Marc. Aurel.* 11, 7, if "Nervae" should be added here. Cf. Rostovtzeff, pp. 272, 312.

[5] "caritas."

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able views. "Candidates ought not to give dinners or send presents or set aside monies [for 'election' doles]." Of these abuses the first two were practised as openly as shamelessly. The third was carried on secretly but was quite a recognised proceeding. Our friend Homullus thereupon, alertly availing himself of this the unanimous feeling of the Senators, when it came to his turn to speak, demanded that the consuls should make known to the Prince this universal wish and beg him to take action against this evil, as he does against others. And so the Emperor did. For he put a check to these foul and scandalous spendings of candidates by a law concerning bribery, and he ordered that these same candidates should have one-third of their patrimony invested in Italian real estate, thinking it highly improper (as no doubt it is) that those who seek office should look upon Rome and Italy not as their native land but as a hospice or inn, as it were, for passing travellers.[1]

Hence there is a general struggle among candidates. They bid against each other for any estate they hear is for sale and so bring a number more into the market. So if you repent of holding Italian estates, here *is* your chance, both of selling them and of buying others in the provinces. For these same candidates are selling there to be able to buy lands here.[2]

A few years earlier this same writer in his "Panegyric" on the new Emperor had celebrated publicly this aspect of Trajan's work for the prosperity of the Campagna. "At last," he exults, "men *do* have something which they can call their own. At last rivers, springs, seas rejoice the eyes of more than one single master. At last the Prince's Empire comprises more than his own patrimony. Much he has transferred from the latter to the former, much that earlier Princes held as their own, not for their own enjoyment's sake but lest *another* might have enjoyment of it. So now others, masters of equal right, enter upon possessions where are the traces yet where Rome's nobility once dwelt. No longer does but a slave occupier tread the courts where once our most illustrious had their homes. No longer do these their homes fall ruinous in unkempt solitude. Sites are cleansed again, and upon them rise fair dwellings, with added buildings and increased stateliness. Great is this thy service,

[1] An obligation re-enacted by Marcus Aurelius but reduced by him to a fourth instead of a third (*Vita*, 11, 8; *Dig.* 1, 9, 11). Cf. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, note 14, p. 530.

[2] Pliny, *Epist.* VI, 19.

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not to men alone but to their very dwellings! Their downfall thou hast stayed; their loneliness thou hast chased away. As was the spirit which first reared those mighty works, such the same spirit with which thou hast saved them from destruction. Dumb indeed are they and bereft of the breath of life. Yet methinks they are sentient and full of joy, for that they now shine brightly, crowds throng them, and at last they own a master who knows them for his own."[1]

And so the orator continues unweariedly for many a long sentence yet.

Another benefit conferred by Trajan upon the landowners and market gardeners of the neighbourhood of Rome as well as upon thirsty citizens was the building in A.D. 109 of yet another aqueduct, the *Aqua Traiana*. For every aqueduct before it entered the city was tapped at innumerable places for irrigation purposes. The new aqueduct drew its supply from springs in the hills above the Lake of Bracciano, a large sheet of water, the crater of an extinct volcano, twenty miles in circumference, in South Etruria some twenty-five miles north of Rome. It entered the city by the Trastevere quarter and supplied the water for the Emperor's new baths, the Thermae Surianae, so-called after his friend Sura, upon the Aventine. It discharged 118,127 cubic metres of water a day. In the year 1611 it was restored by Pope Paul V, and is in use today as the Acqua Paola. But the papal engineers drew their water partly from the lake itself and so have polluted the purer founts which alone supplied the aqueduct of Trajan.[2]

Far away in the southern highlands lay another lake, as beautiful in its girdle of snow-clad mountains as it was treacherous to the unhappy peasants on its shores. For the Fucine Lake, lacking an outlet, rose and fell with the rainfall and the melting of the snow, and flood, swamp, ague, and disease plagued the inhabitants in this one of the loveliest and most lonely scenes of central Italy. But the glory of cutting a channel for its waters by tunnelling the mountain barrier was neither Julius Caesar's

[1] Pliny, *Panegyr.* 50.

[2] *C.I.L.* XI, 3793 = VI, 1260. Depicted on a coin (Eckhel, 6, 425). Cf. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 56.

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nor Trajan's. To the Emperor Claudius in Roman days and to Prince Torlonia in our own belongs the credit. Now at last the basin of the lake is drained, the reclaimed land is rich, fertile, and happy, and Avezzano, the little lakeside town, with its attendant hamlets, rejoices in that centuries of hunger and malaria have passed away for ever.

Claudius' engineers however had scamped their work. Trajan did something at least to remedy its defects. In the year 1615 there was found in the church of St Bartholomew at Avezzano the base of a statue, obviously one of Trajan. It records that the statue was set up in A.D. 117, the last year of the Emperor's life, "ob reciperatos agros et possessores reductos quos lacus Fucini violentia exturbarat." Perhaps Trajan had the emissary channel cleared. Only this chance find of a single stone bears witness to his concern with the Fucine Lake.[1]

§ 6. *Trajan's works in Rome.*

Trajan's new buildings in the city of Rome itself have been the happy concern of artists and archaeologists innumerable ever since the days when the Popes of the Renaissance redeemed the city from its mediaeval squalor and neglect.

The "Thermae Traianae ad Vincula" were built for the use of women only. Now, thanks to monkish pillagers, they are all but completely destroyed.[2]

A new theatre in the Campus Martius was pulled down again, unexpectedly, by the next Emperor, Hadrian.[3]

Additions to the Circus Maximus gave five thousand more seats to the spectators and made it

[1] *C.I.L.* IX, 3915, as restored by Mommsen. The earlier doubt as to its genuineness was based on an apparent Trib. Pot. XXIII in the inscription, since Trajan's last "tribunicia potestas" was numbered XXI. The figure occurs at the end of a broken line and Mommsen's ingenuity, reading Trib. Pot. XXI IN[P], has solved the problem. For Claudius' work on the Fucine see my *History of Nero*, pp. 40–41; the statistics etc. of Prince Torlonia's greater work are to be found in the *Documenti sul Fucino*, published at Avezzano (where I obtained it) in 1893.

[2] "The history of the destruction of this noble edifice would fill a volume," according to Lanciani, *op. cit.* p. 367. Cf. Middleton, *Remains of Ancient Rome*, II, pp. 157–158. It is mentioned in inscriptions (Dessau 1628, 5173).

[3] *Vita Hadr.* 9.

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a structure of extraordinary size and magnificence, wholly covered inside and out with white marble, relieved with gold and painting, brilliant mosaics, columns of coloured Oriental marbles, and statues of white marble and gilt bronze.[1]

Domitian had built, or begun the building of, the Odeum, a vast concert hall which is said to have contained more than ten thousand seats. This was now either completed or restored by Apollodorus the architect at Trajan's orders, and a new gymnasium was built.[2]

But all these many other works of Trajan's devising wane into insignificance when confronted by his new Forum and its bewildering mass of buildings, "the most marvellous creation of human genius." Here, in a newly levelled and cleared space, were erected in the years A.D. 112 and following, a great Hall of Justice, the Basilica Ulpia, and abutting upon it two libraries, one Latin and one Greek.[3] The great square itself, measuring some 100 by 120 yards, was surrounded by a double row of columns and entered, from the Forum of Augustus, by way of a Triumphal Arch. Upon the Arch was a bronze statue of Trajan in a six-horse chariot with statues of six generals, three on either side.[4] Two great hemicycles, "surmounted by gilt statues of horses and trophies of arms," flanked the square in front of the Basilica, and in its centre was an equestrian statue of the Emperor. Soaring above the Basilica, between the two library annexes, rose the Column of Trajan, commemorative of the Dacian Wars, 128 feet in height, and crowned by his statue.[5] Finally, after his predecessor's death, Hadrian in A.D. 122 erected to the north of the column a colossal temple dedicated "Parentibus suis," to Trajan and his Empress Plotina.

In the noisy crowded Piazza of today Trajan's Column still towers, sole unharmed relic of the Emperor's new Forum and its magnificent buildings. From its summit the bronze statue of St Peter, placed

[1] Middleton, *op. cit.* II, p. 44. Cf. Pliny, *Panegyr.* 51.
[2] Dio, LXIX, 4; cf. Gsell, *Domitien*, p. 112.
[3] See the "restoration" by Canina depicted *ap.* Middleton, *op. cit.* II, p. 27, for an idea of its splendour.
[4] Depicted on coins: e.g. Middleton, *op cit.* II, p. 26.
[5] Plans of the Forum *ap.* Middleton, *op. cit.* II, p. 25; Lanciani, p. 313.

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there in the year of the Spanish Armada, A.D. 1588, by Pope Sixtus V, looks down on a city ruled once more by King and not by Priest.[1]

All the buildings were roofed with gilt bronze and adorned with statues innumerable. The countless columns of Forum and Basilica were of the richest coloured, veined, and white marbles of the day, Numidian "yellow," Phrygian "peacock," intermingled with Egyptian red and grey granites. But the Hall itself and its Libraries shone of purest white Attic and Italian marble.[2]

"Structure unique in the whole world, marvellous, as the Gods themselves allow; speech cannot describe it, nor may mortals ever rival it again." So the Latin writer praises it when, two and a half centuries later, the Emperor Constantius in A.D. 357 made his entry into Rome.[3] And even the hapless fragments of frieze and sculptured decoration today kindle in the great Italian archaeologist a like emotion, as he despairs of describing their "marvellous beauty."[4]

Concerning the Column and its sculptured spirals more will be said later. The inscription upon its pedestal shows that the Senate and People erected it to Trajan in the year A.D. 113, "ad declarandum quantae altitudinis mons et locus tant[is oper]ibus sit egestus."[5] The old chronicler gives the traditional explanation of this.[6] The Quirinal and Capitoline hills had been connected by a steep ridge of tufa rock, crossed by the Clivus Argentarius. Apollodorus of Damascus, Trajan's architect of the works, now had the whole of this ridge cut and carted away, to make the open level space for the new Forum. The amount of earth and rock so removed has been calculated as from seven to eight hundred thousand cubic metres—truly a "chef d'œuvre of engineering skill." Geologically-minded critics presently expressed some doubt concerning this supposed height, 130 feet, of the connecting ridge.[7]

[1] I quote my own *Hadrian*, p. 44.

[2] For long further descriptions see Middleton, *op. cit.* II, pp. 24–36; Lanciani, *op. cit.* pp. 312–321.

[3] Ammianus Marcellinus, XVI, 10, 15.

[4] Lanciani, *op. cit.* p. 318; see the lovely frieze (reproduced on p. 317) of the winged naked child and his playmate griffin.

[5] Dessau 294. But see Note at the end of this chapter.

[6] Dio, LXVIII, 16, 2. [7] Middleton, II, pp. 24–25.

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But no alternative interpretation of the inscription was obvious, and the old view until quite recently held the field.[1]

However one may criticise the stylistic art of the Latin expression, this is the only possible meaning, and so it is explained by the ancient historian who must have been well informed about the construction of the Forum.... "Mountain and place" were excavated to a depth of a hundred feet, and the "tanta opera" are the marvellous buildings of the Forum which were the occasion for the excavation.[2]

When however this same ancient historian declares that Trajan had the Column erected "for his own tomb," he meets with greater incredulity.[3] Upon this statement rested the legend, persistent through the Dark Ages, that Trajan's ashes were in due course enclosed in a golden urn and hidden in the pedestal. Search for traces of the golden urn has been made in vain, and, in sheer despair, it seems, if not in error, the English poet removed it to the top of the column, where

> Apostolic statues climb
> To crush the imperial urn, whose ashes slept sublime,
> Buried in air, the deep blue sky of Rome,
> And looking to the stars.

Alas, an impetuous German is incited by this statement of the ancient chronicler to label Dio Cassius a "blockhead"![4]— Now his view is championed once again.[5]

Such were the Emperor Trajan's works for the good and for the splendour of Italy and Rome. Quite apart from the works themselves, their beauty and their utility, their contribution alike to the pride and to the health of the people, there can have been little unemployment, save of wilful habit, in Trajan's Rome. If the poor scanty relics which survive today evoke admiration and wonder unstinted, with how great satisfaction and applause must not the works, when still unspoiled by time, have been greeted by the composite crowds of cosmopolitan Rome! It may justly be deplored that in our scanty surviving

[1] Lanciani, *op. cit.* pp. 312–313.
[2] H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom* (Berlin, 1885), I, 2, pp. 454–455.
[3] Lanciani, *op. cit.* p. 319.
[4] Von Domaszewski, *Philologus*, 1906, p. 343.
[5] See Note at end of this chapter.

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literary records so little is told us concerning Trajan's own personality and character. Statue and monument must, if they can, do something to repair our loss.

§ 7. *Trajan and the provinces.*

Trajan's administration of the provinces was careful, business-like, and sensible.

Maladministration and misgovernment, when in rare instances such occurred, were promptly checked. Four provincial governors had to stand their trial for extortion, Marius Priscus (Africa), Caecilius Classicus (Baetica), Julius Bassus and Varenus Rufus (Bithynia).[1] Had there been other trials of the kind it is likely that we should have heard of them from Pliny.

There was a Lex Julia of old standing which forbade most strictly the acceptance of presents—munera—by an official. It was most effectively operative under Trajan. It was under this law that the conduct of Julius Bassus, governor of Bithynia, was open to censure, even by admission of his devoted advocate Pliny himself.[2] "The *gravamen* of the whole indictment," Pliny writes, "was that the simple careless fellow had accepted certain gifts from the provincials 'as his friends.'" Unluckily the ex-governor's accusers stigmatised the gifts as "thefts" and "plunder." He himself called them just "presents." "It was only on his birthday," he pleaded pathetically, "or once a year as well, at the Saturnalia (the 'Christmas' festival of Roman life), that he accepted these 'little gifts,' and he gave such besides receiving them." In vain Pliny pleaded for him with throbbing emotion. The law stared him starkly in the face. "Lex munera accipi vetat." The whole Colonial and Indian history of the British Imperial Administration enforces the wisdom of the ancient Roman precedent.

A weak Senate was only too ready to condone the governor of one of its own Senatorial—"public"—provinces, and, in Pliny's words, "to grant indulgence to a course of action which,

[1] Full details of all the trials are given by E. G. Hardy (*Pliny's Correspondence with Trajan*, pp. 43–47). Cf. de la Berge, p. 126. Pliny's letters are full of the cases: viz. II, 11; III, 9; IV, 9; V, 20; VI, 5, 13, 29; VII, 6, 10.

[2] Pliny, *Epist.* IV, 9, 6 and 17; *Epist. ad Traian.* 56.

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though illegal, was not unprecedented." It is a pity that Trajan's own opinion upon such Senatorial sympathy is not on record. Bassus, the "homo simplex et incautus," favourite of the Senate though he was, had his acts "rescinded." It was a light penalty. He did not even have to disgorge the "little gifts." This might have ruined him. As it was, only his reputation and any chance of further employment were ruined. Had he been governor of an "Imperial" province he might well have encountered a harsher and more adequate penalty. It was clear that Trajan must presently turn his particular attention to Bithynia.

There was much activity shown in the care and construction of roads, aqueducts, bridges, canals, public works of all kinds, during the Principate of Trajan. The evidence, mainly epigraphic, demonstrates this in Spain, Africa, Sardinia, Raetia, Noricum, Dalmatia, Egypt, Syria, Galatia, Cappadocia, Phrygia, Bithynia.[1] Perhaps the best known example is the bridge of Alcantara over the Tagus, with its Triumphal Arch, built in A.D. 103–104.

Pontem perpetui mansurum in saecula mundi
Fecit divina nobilis arte Lacer.

The bridge-builder, C. Julius Lacer, proudly commemorates his feat in a dozen lines of verse which are not without their perplexities.[2]

Africa also received a bridge, that over the river Bagrada, built by the troops at the Emperor's charges.[3] Towns such as Thamugas and Hadrumetum in this province obtained "colonial rights."[4] The military headquarters were moved from Theveste to the more desirable site of Lambaesis, and a chain of forts surrounded the wild tribes of the Aures Mountains, whose recesses were further pierced by roads.[5] Several

[1] A long list of references in Schiller, pp. 567–568. Cf. de la Berge, pp. 125–126. Roads *ap. C.I.L.* II, III, and VIII.

[2] *C.I.L.* II, 759–761 = Dessau 287, 287 *a*, 287 *b*. "Imp. V" in the inscription is a mere blunder for "Imp. IV."

[3] Dessau 293.

[4] Dessau 6841 and 6111—"Colonia Concordia Ulpia Traiana Augusta Frugifera Hadrumetina."

[5] *C.I.L.* VIII, 2532 and VIII, 1, Introd. p. xxi. Cf. Cagnat, *L'armée romaine en Afrique*.

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of Trajan's laws, preserved in Justinian's Digest, show the Emperor's care for the interests of local communities.[1]

Could not such care be excessive? Might not local autonomy suffer and an increase of central supervision and bureaucracy destroy the very life of the local community, the interest and the joy of local self-government?

Trajan it was who first devised the plan of appointing an Imperial official to supervise and to control the local financial administration of a city, and Hadrian continued the practice. Under these Emperors such an appointment of a "curator reipublicae" or "curator civitatis" was exceptional and tentative, justified, it might be argued, by local extravagance and mismanagement. Even the most democratic of central governments may find it advisable to interfere with the spendthrift recklessness of West Ham Guardians. The danger of such interference was that the appetite grew for what it fed on, and, at Rome, the later bureaucratic system of a Diocletian was but too clearly foreshadowed, with all its baleful influence on the real prosperity of the Empire.[2] Its immediate usefulness in certain cases seemed to a provident Emperor like Trajan indisputable. He therefore applied it to towns not only in the provinces but also in Italy, the very home of local liberty.

In Italy the first certain date for the appointment of such an official was the year A.D. 113, when we find the magistrates and decurions of Caere in southern Etruria sending a letter to "Curiatius Cosanus, curator" in which they ask him to sanction their acceptance of the offer of a building for public purposes. The curator was away at Ameria at the time. He replied benignly, exactly as the Visitor of any Oxford or Cambridge College would answer any analogous request by its Governing Body did this fall within his province (which it does not). "I ought not only to consent to your wish," Curiatius wrote on September 12, "but also to congratulate you upon the benefactor who would adorn our town. I approve your resolution of acceptance not as if I were curator merely but as if I were

[1] *Dig.* L, 12, 14 *fin.*; XLVIII, 13, 4, 57; and perhaps XXXVI, 1, 26.

[2] Cf. Rostovtzeff's long but justifiable remarks, *op. cit.* pp. 343, 459–460, and 530–543. No single supposed case of a "curator" before Trajan stands scrutiny. Cf. G. Mancini, *ap. Diz. Epigraf. sub voc.* p. 1348.

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myself a member of the Town Council." And in a concluding sentence (which is more ungrammatical than might be expected of a curator) he hopes that "so honourable an example" may bear more fruit in days to come. Accordingly next year the building was erected and adorned with the long inscription which gives the whole story.[1]

There are not a few other examples.

P. Clodius Sura was appointed "curator reipublicae" at Bergamo by Trajan, and Hadrian sent him later on as curator to Como.[2] Pliny's friend, Cornelius Minicianus, who is priest—flamen—of divine Claudius at Bergamo and also priest of divine Trajan at Milan, is "curator reipublicae Otesinorum" at Otesia, a town in Cispadane Gaul whose very site is unknown today.[3] One C. Oclatius is similarly curator at Aecanum in Apulia under Trajan or Hadrian,[4] and, in the latter's reign, L. Burbuleius Optatus Ligarianus, a distinguished provincial governor, is curator, first at Tarracina, next at Ancona, and, still later again, at Narbo.[5]

In all, curators are found in at least five cities of Italy under Hadrian, six under Antoninus Pius, a dozen under Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, seventeen under Septimius Severus and Caracalla. So the system developed until a round hundred cities can be specified which enjoyed the doubtful pleasure of a curator's presence between Trajan's death and Diocletian's reorganisation of the Imperial Government.[6]

In the provinces Trajan's curators are found at Aix and Autun in Gaul,[7] Hadrian's at Athens, Plataea, Thespiae, Bithynian Heraclea, and elsewhere.[8] In all, we may count over forty cities with curators in the western provinces and twenty-five or more in Achaea, Asia, Bithynia, and Galatia. It is to be noted that it was only cities in the "Senatorial" provinces which the Emperor subjected to his direct financial control in this way. His own "Imperial" provinces apparently had no

[1] Dessau 5918 *a* = *C.I.L.* XI, 3614.
[2] Dessau 6725 = *C.I.L.* V, 4368.
[3] Dessau 2722.
[4] Dessau 5502 = *C.I.L.* IX, 1619.
[5] Dessau 1066 = *C.I.L.* X, 6006.
[6] The whole long list is given in *Diz. Epigraf. sub voc.* "curator," pp. 1368–1374.
[7] *C.I.L.* XIII, 2658; XII, 3212 *add.*
[8] *Diz. Epigraf.* pp. 1375, 1376.

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such need of precautions against the muddled incompetence of the local authority.

But in the provinces this practice of Imperial supervision could take a wider range, and this further development is due in the first instance to Trajan also. A whole class of cities or a whole province might be put under the control of a special commissioner whose title in the former case was "corrector," not curator. First Achaea, and then Bithynia, called for this radical treatment from Trajan.

The province of Achaea, alone perhaps of all the provinces of the Empire, was in very sorry plight. This was due, not so much to long years of Senatorial rule, as to that indefinite and indefinable evil, the dying out of vigour in an ageing racial stock. Decline of population, inertia, "accidia," reluctance to work, grass growing in the city streets, raggedness, squalor, beggary—all these are depicted picturesquely in Dio Chrysostom's account of Euboea, written when Trajan was Emperor. Achaea too was the chief home of the "free city." A "free city" was, technically at least, emancipated completely from any control by the Roman governor of the province in which it was situated. It was a small *enclave* of liberty surrounded by Roman land. These cities of proud traditions, an Athens, a Sparta, a Tanagra, a Delphi, and many another name of ancient renown, were the spoilt darlings of the admiring Roman. They were quick to resent the least encroachment upon their peculiar privileges, and these vain susceptibilities of a dying race were tenderly humoured by Roman lovers of Greek culture. Was any people so sentimentally disposed as was that soldier folk who count a Cicero and a Hadrian among their names of fame? Yet there *is* a difference between a Ravenna and a Chicago.

Trajan however was a plain practical man with the shrewdest notions of good government. To the dismay of the cultured Pliny he did not scruple to interfere with these haughty niceties, the Hellenic "free cities." In the year A.D. 109 he directed a certain Maximus, who had been praetor in Rome, to proceed to Greece "ad ordinandum statum liberarum civitatum." The "free cities" were to have "their state set in order." Maximus

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was a special commissioner. He did not replace the existing provincial governor. In fact the "free cities" were not the latter's concern at all.

This Maximus has been (doubtfully) identified with Sextus Quinctilius Valerius Maximus, a native of Alexandria Troas, who received from Nerva the honour of the *latus clavus*, whose son later was in government service in Achaea, first as quaestor and then as legate. He has also been identified with an (unnamed) διορθωτὴς τῶν ἐλευθέρων πόλεων, i.e. a "corrector of free cities," who one day strolled rashly into the lecture-room of the Stoic philosopher Epictetus, either at Nicopolis or at Athens, and was promptly engaged by the lecturer in an intricate discussion intended to show that practice was better than Epicurean precept. That the philosopher's victim was Maximus himself is unlikely, since an allusion is made to the latter in the third person. But the debate is at least illuminative of a "corrector's" powers.

"I sit as judge over the Greeks," he boasts; "I can put anyone I please into prison."

"As you can a slave," the philosopher interjects.

"I can cudgel to death anyone I please."

"As you can an ass. *This* is not to govern men. 'Do this, don't do that, or into prison you go!' This is not the way to rule rational human beings."

Epictetus must have his victory of course. The "corrector" must be persuaded to deal justly with his Greeks by "the example of Socrates or the laws ordained of Zeus." The fear of Trajan was likely to prove a more efficient sanction for uprightness.

Pliny's letter to Maximus, now to be cited in full, betrays very obvious anxiety concerning the subjects of his mission. If the powers conferred upon him were in reality those of the "corrector" in Epictetus' dialogue, the philhellenist Pliny may not unreasonably have been alarmed. Yet he could have trusted Trajan's judgment, and Trajan chose Maximus.[1]

[1] Maximus, the single name only, *ap.* Pliny, *Epist.* VIII, 24; identified with him of Troas (*C.I.L.* III, 384 = Dessau 1018) by Mommsen *ad C.I.L.* III, 6103 (so also in *Pros. Imp. Rom.* III, p. 117) and with Epictetus' visitor the διορθωτής (Arrian, *Epict. Diss.* III, 7) by the same. The equation διορθωτὴς

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Pliny to his friend Maximus, greeting!

My love for you compels me, not to give you precepts (*you* do not need a preceptor), but yet to admonish you to hold fast by what you know and to observe this duly, or to better your knowledge.

Consider that you are sent to the province of Achaea, that real genuine Greece, where civilisation, learning, and even agriculture itself are supposed to have been discovered first. You are sent to regulate the condition of Free States, in other words of men who are in the fullest sense men, of free men who are in the highest sense free; who have maintained their Natural Rights by valour, by noble deeds, by friendship, finally by treaties and religious sanctions.

Revere the gods their founders and the very names of the gods. Revere their ancient glory and that old age of theirs, which, as it is venerable in men, so in cities is sacred. Hold in honour their antiquity, their great deeds, even their legends. Pluck away nothing from any man's dignity, liberty, even vanity. Bear in mind that this was the land which sent our codes to us; that she gave us laws not by right of conquest but on our own request; that it is Athens you visit, that it is Sparta you govern. To snatch from these the shadow that remains, the mere name of liberty which is left to them, is a harsh, cruel, barbarous deed. Though in sickness slaves differ not one whit from free men, yet physicians you see treat free men more gently and more tenderly than they do slaves.

Recollect what each State was once on a time, yet not so as to look down on her for ceasing to be such now. Put away all pride and severity and do not fear contempt. Can he be despised who holds the magisterial authority, the rods of command, unless he himself be low and abject and first of all despise himself? To insult others is but a sorry way whereby to gauge one's own power. Sorry too is the homage inspired by terror. Far more effectual to gain what you may desire is love than fear. For fear vanishes when you depart, but love abides. And as fear turns to hatred, so does love to reverence.

Again and again then (for I will repeat it) you should remember the title of your office and interpret to yourself the nature and the importance of your task "to regulate the condition of the Free States." For what is more "civic" than such "regulation," what more precious than such "freedom"? How foul a deed forsooth to change such "regulation" into "overthrow," such "freedom" into "slavery"!

Moreover, you are your own rival. There weighs upon you the fame of your quaestorship, that admirable fame which you brought

="corrector" seems certain, though the actual Latin term appears first in the inscription of one L. Turr. Gratianus under Diocletian, so far as I can discover (*C.I.L.* III, 6103).

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back from Bithynia. There weighs upon you the approval of the Prince. There weighs upon you your tribunate, your praetorship, this very mission given you, as it were, in reward. So much the more earnestly must you strive not to seem to have been more humane, more upright, more skilful, in a distant province than now in one "at the city's gates"; when among folk subject than now when among folk free; when the lot sent you than now when deliberate judgment sends; when you were but a novice and unknown than now when you are a man experienced and well approved. As you have often heard and often read, 'tis much uglier to lose men's praise than ne'er to win it.

Pray believe that, as I said at first, I write as your monitor, not as your preceptor. Yet I have written as your preceptor also. For in truth I am not afraid of carrying love too far. Since there is no peril that what knows no limits should be too great. Farewell.

Within two years from the writing of this letter, nemesis came swiftly leaping upon the troubled champion of Hellenic liberties, and Pliny found himself despatched by Trajan upon a very similar mission to a province, that very province where young Maximus had won his spurs. Bithynia indeed was distant, not "suburban." It could boast little of tradition or of legend. Its "free cities" were few, its "subject" communities were many. Yet Greeks there also had their pride, their sensitiveness. There in Bithynia Pliny himself was speedily to learn that it was not the easiest of tasks to reconcile "regulation" with "freedom," to detract no whit from any man's "dignity, liberty, even vanity." How sagaciously and merrily might not Maximus have retaliated by letter upon his serious-minded friend!

§ 8. *Bithynia and its moral.*

More than a century and a half before the Principate of Trajan Pompey the Great had annexed the province of Bithynia to the dominions of the Republic of Rome. He then had given to it a "Provincial Law" which remained the basis of its administrative system for many a long year. To this *Lex Pompeia* both the people and the governor referred when cases of dispute arose between them. The appeal to it was decisive still in the reign of Trajan. The Roman, like the Englishman, was essentially conservative in temper.

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Under a century of Senatorial control—by the Augustan arrangement Bithynia was a "public province"—the land had fallen into a condition of some disorder, if not of positive distress. It was indeed so composite a province that it can never have been easy to administer. In the west of it were old established, populous, busy, and quarrelsome Greek cities, cities famous in their day, jealous of their repute and privileges. Such were Nicomedia, Nicaea, Prusa, Apamea, and, above all, the city of Byzantium herself. To this crowded compact district, where the "urbanisation" policy of the Roman Emperors[1] could find little room and less need for itself, there was added a long strip of coast-line on the south of the Black Sea, which reached as far east as Amisus beyond the Halys. But inland there lay a wild rough mountain country, merging presently into the savage highlands of Paphlagonia. Here the native element outnumbered the Greek, ways were primitive, good roads were few, travelling was difficult if not unsafe.

But the Greek was always the primary feature in Bithynia, and, under Trajan as both before and after him, despite all factions and inter-city jealousies and all the temporary financial embarrassments which called often for Imperial intervention, Hellenic culture and civilisation, trade, industry, wealth, and vigour made Bithynia veritably one of the garden-plots of the Roman, and later of the Byzantine, Empire. Eastern Christianity in due course added to its speculative activity if not to its peace and goodwill. It was reserved for the Turk to lay the land in ruins, in our own day once again as many centuries ago. Asia Minor affords little scope to those who would boast of the march of civilisation and of human progress, as once, in Victorian days, men did.

In A.D. 111 Trajan sent Pliny to Bithynia as special Imperial administrator in place of the Senatorial governor. His title was that of "legatus pro praetore provinciae Ponti et Bithyniae consulari potestate... in eam provinciam ex senatus consulto missus ab Imperatore Caesare Nerva Traiano."[2] Trajan's use of a Senatorial decree was on the best lines of the Augustan tradition.

[1] Cf. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* p. 106.
[2] Dessau 2927 = *C.I.L.* v, 5262 (the Milan inscription).

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The voluminous letters written by Pliny to Trajan and the Emperor's commonsense, often curt, replies show the nature of the administrator's task, his difficulties and anxieties, and, not least, the Emperor's marvellous patience. The "accounts" of the cities, Trajan told him, were his main concern: "for it is agreed that they are in a wretched state."[1] To these therefore he devoted great part of his earlier attention, at Prusa, Byzantium, Nicaea, Nicomedia, and elsewhere. But other matters soon called for his decision, concerning buildings, baths, aqueducts, games, canals, local constitutions and rights, local customs, clubs, fire-brigades, rites and ceremonies, an *olla podrida* of worries about each and all of which he writes to the Emperor for guidance. Trajan never wearies. He replies with directions, advice, encouragement, everything that the most agitated subordinate could desire. One thing only the Emperor refused to supply, that Roman architect for whom Pliny's soul yearned as longingly as ever the young rascal Caelius for his panthers from Cicero, governor of Cilicia. There is less colour in the correspondence of the Empire.

Pliny's attention to detail is admirable. Less admirable perhaps is the dread of incurring responsibility which stamps every page of his letters. A tithe of such shrinking in the young Englishman would make our Indian or Malayan administration a laughing-stock. At times indeed he did well to consult his master. Even Pliny found local liberties a nuisance, as at Apamea, and Trajan has ingeniously to suggest a way out of the difficulty.[2] The governor found city funds lying idle because no one would borrow. Could not the Town Councillors be *compelled* to borrow, he asks ingenuously: they might be given the solatium of a lowered rate of interest? Trajan forbids the plan. It is "non ex justitia nostrorum temporum," he answers.[3] And in fact there is a hint elsewhere that men became "decurions against their will," an ominous suggestion of evil days to come when individuals should be made by law responsible for the local town's taxes, and despair and ruin followed.[4]

[1] *Ad Traian.* 18. Rostovtzeff's view that Pliny is sent out chiefly to supervise the Bosporan kingdom (p. 310) is simply perverse.
[2] *Ib.* 47, 48. [3] *Ib.* 54, 55. [4] *Ib.* 113; cf. Rostovtzeff, p. 343.

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This was *not* "what the justice of our day requires" in the time of Trajan.

Yet though the Emperor shows himself tender to local rights and privileges, though he refuses to allow his governor to insist on uniformity (so dear to the bureaucratic soul),[1] yet the Imperial rescript possesses absolute authority, and the free constitution of the ancient city droops and withers.

The local "Assembly" of all the citizens, once the very essence of the Greek democracy, is an attenuated shadow. Such functions of local government as remain are discharged by the local Senators, the decurions, who had at least this compensation for the "entrance fees" which they were compelled to pay upon election to the Council.[2] Perhaps, even in Pliny's day, they might have paid these more cheerfully had he scrutinised every detail of their administration less assiduously. There is some force in a modern historian's contention. "Trajan," he writes, "cared very little for municipal liberty. His Age marks the beginning of the end. However limited the competence of the Imperial commissioner, however extraordinary (at first) his appointment, the system once introduced could never be discontinued. The axe was laid at the root of the tree. Some centuries had still to pass before the practice substituted finally a cast-iron system for free Folk-life. But once it began, nothing hindered its steady development."[3]

There was a certain man who, dying, bequeathed a sum of money with which to establish a gymnastic contest at the town of Vienne upon the Rhone. A worthy local magistrate of puritanical disposition presently disapproved of the competition and incontinently swept it away. Hot with indignation, the Viennese declared that he had had no public authorisation for his rude action and appealed to Rome. The Emperor, Trajan, heard the appeal in Privy Council and upheld the magistrate. Pliny rejoiced. Such games, he held, were bad for the morals of Vienne as for those of every other town. "I wish they were abolished at Rome as well," an Imperial Councillor cried fervently. Perhaps it might have been better for the public life,

[1] "Sequendam cuiusque civitatis legem," 113. Cf. 108, 112, 114.
[2] *Epist. ad Traian.* 39, 79–80, 110, 112. [3] Schiller, pp. 569–570.

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if worse for the morals, of the Viennese if they had been permitted to decide the matter for themselves. "Rather free than sober!"[1]

Pliny never returned to Rome, it seems, but died in Bithynia. Others were sent to the province to continue the work of supervision, Aemilius Juncus by Hadrian in A.D. 126, Tiberius Severus by Antoninus Pius.[2] Other "correctors" of the Free Cities followed upon the heels of Maximus in Achaea, P. Pactumeius Clemens, sent by Hadrian, and Tiberius Claudius Callipianus.[3] Presently the entire province was swept into the "corrector's" net. Egnatius Proclus was given this wider charge by the Emperor Commodus, L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus and Cn. Claudius Leonticus by Severus.[4]

It was not by the Roman nor by the Byzantine, not by Emperor and not by Priest, that after many weary and unprofitable centuries liberty should be recalled once more to lighten the darkness of at least the western world.

[1] Pliny, *Epist.* IV, 22.

[2] *Inscr. Graec. ad res Rom. pert.* III, 33, 174, 175.

[3] Dessau 1067; *C.I.Att.* III, 631. Clemens was also sent to investigate the accounts of the "civitates" of Syria.

[4] *C.I.A.* III, 632. Cf. *Diz. Epig. sub voc.* "curator," p. 1375.

Note to § 6. *The inscription on the pedestal of Trajan's Column.*

The latest writer on the Column, K. Lehmann-Hartleben (see p. 307, below), accepts Dio's story that Trajan eventually designed it for his tomb, and argues that then he placed his statue on top instead of the eagle of the original design (as shown by coins), had the inside stairs made and the window-slits cut (to the hurt of the sculptures) and the chamber hewn in the pedestal (*Die Trajanssäule*, pp. 3–4, 113). But L.-H. declares Dio's story of the "removal of the hill" incredible, even though controversialists of 1926 reassert it (p. 155). Remains of an ancient road found upon the site prove that there was always a depression here. The restoration of the broken inscription as "Tantis operibus" (that of the "Anonymus" of Einsiedeln monastery in the xth century) he rejects, as also the variants "Tantis viribus" (XIVth) and "Tantis rupibus" (XXth). There is space, he argues, for only 4 and not 6 letters. So he suggests "Tantis opibus," i.e. an allusion to the Dacian spoils which gave Trajan the money for the work. The inscription *must* refer to the Dacian Wars, he urges, and to nothing else. But he cannot explain "egestus" and calls on Latin philologists to do this. Meanwhile if he has, as he proudly says, "taken the bull by the horns" the animal is not much the worse for it, and "the discussion goes on untiringly." (pp. 4–7, 155.)

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CHAPTER IX

SOME ASPECTS OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

§ 1 Introductory. § 2 The public "Alimentary system." § 3 Private benevolence. § 4 Schooling. § 5 Italian agriculture: the problem. § 6 Italian agriculture: the evidence. § 7 Italian agriculture: Pliny's letters on the subject. § 8 Italian agriculture: conclusion.

§ 1. *Introductory.*

AN OXFORD historian of later Republican Rome has declared that

> the obligation of wealth to supply luxuries for the poor—a splendid feature of ancient civilisation, in which it has ever taken precedence of that of the modern world—was recognised with the utmost frankness in the Rome of the day.[1]

This care for the poor because they are poor seems in the ancient world to have been a characteristically Roman virtue. At least its absence from the Greek world of the Hellenistic Age contrasts unfavourably with the Roman benevolence. Speaking of this later Greek age, a recent writer says:

> Rich men were often liberal, but only to the State.... Though we often hear in literature that poverty is hateful, there seems to be only one doubtful reference to poverty, prior to Cercidas,[2] as a matter for compassion. When the Stoic Cleanthes, in his Hymn to Zeus, says "that which is dear to none other is dear unto Thee," he *may* mean the poor and unfortunate; but, even if he does, he leaves the matter to Zeus; he does not suggest that it is any concern of other men.[3]

The Roman of the early Empire did not leave the business of philanthropy to his doubtful gods. Thousands of inscriptions survive to bear witness to the generosity and the public spirit of men in every part of the Roman Empire. This, says one of the latest of our Roman historians,[4]

[1] Greenidge, *History of Rome* (133–70 B.C.), p. 26.
[2] Of Megalopolis, third century B.C.
[3] W. W. Tarn, *ap.* Powell and Barber, *The Hellenistic Age*, pp. 126–127.
[4] Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, p. 522; cf. note 13, p. 529.

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"can be compared only with that shown by Americans today. But relatively the Romans gave much more money for public purposes than modern Americans."

"It is amazing," he writes elsewhere,[1] "to see what sums were given by wealthy citizens, especially in the Greek East."

Up to the middle of the second century of our era this generosity was always on an increasing scale. And the Greek caught the gracious infection from his Roman conqueror.

Doubtless much political self-seeking and ambition in Republican days, and always, in every day, the love of ostentation and self-advertisement provided the more conspicuous forms of individual generosity in the shape of buildings and every manner of work of public utility. Little magnates hastened to imitate the Roman nobility and to give such adornment each to his little local city. In the public works of the Emperors, Augustus the pioneer of all, this generosity found its most magnificent expression, and Trajan, as has been seen, even surpassed Augustus in the glory and the utility of his "monuments" in Rome and Italy.

But there are quieter and less self-assertive forms of Roman benevolence which have left no memorials behind them in brick or marble, yet which served their own generation perhaps better than arch, forum, or temple and touch the heart of the modern world more closely. Creeds change. The pomp and the glory of war die away. The cry of the children calls always to the ears of those who will hear.

In the reign of one of the early Emperors there was a servant of the State, one T. Helvius Basila, who had discharged the usual round of high Senatorial offices and was mindful besides of others' needs. His daughter Procula presently honoured her father's memory by setting up in the small Italian township of Atina in Latium a record of his kindliness which mere chance has preserved. Unique indeed his generosity cannot have been, though that it was inspired by his Emperor, whether Augustus or another, is but a modern suggestion. To Atina, no doubt his native town, Helvius gave a capital sum of 400,000 sesterces for investment. The interest on this sum (20,000 sesterces or more)

[1] *Ib.* p. 141.

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was to provide corn for the children of the inhabitants and, further, a gift of 1000 sesterces apiece when each left childhood behind. Further details are lacking, but in the "dole" of Atina is a prototype of a famous system, known as the "Alimentary system," which is perhaps the chief glory of the short reign of Nerva and is not the least of Trajan's claims upon the affection of his subjects. And when once more the Emperor led the way along the road of benevolence, the rich were not slow to follow.[1]

§ 2. *The public "Alimentary system."*

No Prince before Nerva had cared greatly for the children of the poor. No doubt it is easier for those who themselves are childless to busy themselves about other people's children than it is for those on whom a family makes an insistent call. Princes are not exempt from the common instincts of ordinary men. To the ageing Nerva's mild wisdom is due the invention of a system for the State maintenance of the children of the poor in Italy which was both skilful and elaborate and was adopted and extended by his successor Trajan.

Long ago, it is true, the Emperor Augustus had been troubled in his mind by the manifest reluctance to rear offspring which was displayed by the middle and the upper classes of Roman society. He had therefore endeavoured by law to discourage a tendency which was so hurtful to the welfare of Rome. Among other interesting measures he had enacted that children, girls as well as boys, should be aids to and expedite their fathers' promotion up the ladder of administrative office. One child was worth one year's "seniority." But when presently the rights conferred by "three children" became a matter of Imperial favour bestowed ever and again upon the childless (a

[1] The Atina inscription (Dessau 977) is usually dated in the time of Augustus, as by Nilsson, who writes most eloquently upon it and the whole Alimentary system (M. P. Nilsson, *Imperial Rome*, translated by G. C. Richards, 1926, pp. 333–338). But Dessau shows that Procula the daughter was in the flower of her age in A.D. 69 and thinks that the "Caesar Augustus" of the inscription is either Claudius or Nero. Doubtless however this encouragement of children *is* more on the lines of Augustus' policy than of Nero's!

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practice greatly disliked by the sagacious Trajan),[1] the futility of this particular measure became sufficiently obvious. In fact no great success attended any of Augustus' efforts to withstand the selfishness (or the prudence) of his times. Birth-stimulus was no easier a political problem then than is "birth-control" today. "Family-endowment" in France as elsewhere has stubborn foes to fight in pleasure-seeking and the fear of poverty. So that Augustus' successors were not tempted to follow his example. One and all left such delicate matters well alone. A century passed by. Then Nerva set his hand once more to the task. But to him the indigent and voiceless multitude seemed a likelier field for experiment than did the thrifty bourgeois or the reluctant noble. Children, the Emperor seems to have reflected, were an asset to the State however lowly might be their station in life. Doubtless it may be urged that Nerva's was an unscientific and a "dysgenic" age.

Yet the Imperial plan was notably ingenious in that two most appetising birds were to be killed by the same stone. The maintenance of the children of the poor was an urgent need. But also the provision of "cheap money" for Italian farmers who lacked capital for the proper tillage or development of their fields was a second such urgency. Wholly separate though the two problems might seem, Nerva's "Alimentary system" linked them together cleverly and proposed a solution for both. By it the small Italian farmer was to secure loans at a reasonable rate of interest. By it also Nerva proposed to provide maintenance for upwards of five thousand poor Italian children by way, at any rate, of a beginning.[2]

This was the Emperor's device:

The Imperial Treasury, the "Fiscus," made a loan to the farmer. On that loan the farmer paid interest, almost certainly five per cent. This interest he paid, not to the Fiscus, but to his own local Municipality. The local Municipality was then bound to spend the money received by its Borough treasurer from the farmer upon the maintenance of poor children within its own boundaries. The farmer's land was the Municipality's security that this maintenance-money should always be forthcoming. If

[1] Cf. Pliny, Ep. II, 13, 8; *ad Traian.* 2, 94, 95. [2] Pliny, *Panegyr.* 28.

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the farmer failed to pay the interest, the Municipality could distrain upon the defaulter's farm for the amount or, ultimately, could foreclose the mortgage and appropriate the farm.

The security was in fact a good one. For when a farmer applied to the State for his loan, the officials of the Fiscus demanded a return from him giving the capital value of his farm, and it was enacted, it seems, that the amount of the loan was not to exceed a somewhat low percentage of such capital value. This proportion was probably one-twelfth of the assessed capital value. In modern figures, a farmer wishing for a loan of £200 must prove to the Treasury officials that his land was worth £2400. On proving this, he got his £200. On it he paid an annual interest of £10. This £10 went to the local township's treasury and was to be spent upon maintenance grants for the city children. In this way the State found the capital; the farmer had the use of it; the township received the interest upon it and spent it upon food and clothing for its own poor boys and girls.

An administrative staff had to be created to carry out the working of the plan. At Rome there was a Central Office, in charge of the "praefectus alimentorum." This prefect must be a Senator who had the rank of ex-praetor. The Senatorial administration of Italy was one of Rome's most ancient traditions, and the chief administrative officer of a system intended to benefit both Italian agriculture and Italian child-life could not belong to any other save the Senatorial class. The remainder of his staff however belonged to the Imperial "equestrian" Civil Service. These were the "procuratores ad alimenta" in the Central Office at Rome and the "procuratores alimentorum" in the country districts. Where these last were in the neighbourhood of the great roads, such as the Flaminian or the Aemilian, they were put under the supervision of the "Curators" of these roads, who obviously had special opportunities for knowledge concerning the local needs of the district. In the more remote districts not penetrated by the great highways the "procuratores alimentorum" were responsible only to the Central prefecture, as in Istria, or in Apulia, Calabria, Lucania, and Bruttium.

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The local authorities also had special officers of their own, the "quaestores alimentorum." These are found in at least forty Italian towns, and this shows how widely the "Alimentary system" was spread through Italy. The exact relations between the Central and the Local officials and their duties are nowhere stated, but the latter must have enjoyed a certain amount of autonomy even though the Local Authority which enjoyed the entire benefit of the system did not contribute one penny towards its expense "from the rates." This latter division of cost as well as of authority is rather an English than a Roman practice.[1]

Precise details of the system have been supplied by the chance discovery of two inscriptions.

The first inscription, of date A.D. 103, belongs to Veleia near Parma in the Po valley. It was found in A.D. 1747.[2]

This shows that the State lent the capital sum of 1,044,000 sesterces to the farmers of the district. The value of their farms is given and this amounts in all to about twelve times the amount of the loan. The interest on the loan at 5 per cent. amounts to 52,200 sesterces per annum. It provides maintenance for boys and girls according to the following schedule:

			Sesterces per ann.
Boys:	245 "legitimate"	at 16 sesterces per month	= 47040
Girls:	34 „	at 12 „ „	= 4896
Boy:	1 "illegitimate"	at 12 „ „	= 144
Girl:	1 „	at 10 „ „	= 120
		Total:	52,200

Why the last two children "ranked for grant" or why, unlucky wights, they should have the misfortune of their birth thus publicly branded (their names however are not given) remains a mystery. One modern writer, a Swede, sees in this the championship of the tie of marriage.[3] Another, a German, comments briefly "Some regard is paid to the base-born, but only a trifling one."[4] Are we to see in this some personal

[1] For the details of this administrative system of the Alimenta cf. Hirschfeld, *Kais. Verwalt.* pp. 221–224.

[2] *C.I.L.* XI, 1147 (Dessau 6675). [3] Nilsson. [4] Dessau

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favouritism on the part of a local Town Councillor, yet resented by the moral sense of the community?

The great preference shown to boys over girls, both in the numbers selected for grant and in the amount of the monthly dole, is notable. Boys, it seems, were supposed to eat more than girls, and legitimate children had larger appetites than illegitimate. (Truly the sins of the fathers were visited upon their unhappy children!) The practical Roman thought boys more valuable than girls. Our Swedish writer enlarges on this theme. "The boys," he says, "were the favourites: for in antiquity, as in the East to this day, the State relied on them, whereas the birth of a girl was not greeted with joy."[1] Probably the girls were lucky to get anything at all at Veleia.

The second inscription, of date A.D. 101, shows the system at work among the "Ligures Baebiani" near Beneventum in southern Italy. It was discovered in A.D. 1832.[2] It is however very badly broken and its list of properties gives us no information concerning the numbers of the children concerned or their rates of maintenance. The interest paid on the loans is only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., but it is most probable that this is a half-yearly payment.

Under the system the children clearly continued to live at home with their parents, to whom probably the dole was paid direct each month by the Borough treasurer, either in money or in corn. There is no evidence of the age of the children thus helped by the State. That supplied by private benefactions of the same kind suggests that the payments ceased as soon as a boy reached the age of 15 or 16, but two years earlier in the case of a girl.[3] This two years' difference in the comparative development of the sexes during the period of adolescence is a well-known physiological truth. It is interesting to see it recognised as a fact in the second century of our era.

That the State "Alimentary system" was widespread is certain. Traces of it have been found (apart from the evidence of the "quaestores alimentorum") at Auximum in Umbria, at Ameria, at Tarracina.[4] The legend "ALIM. ITALIAE" appears on coins of the years A.D. 104 and A.D. 112.[5] Two

[1] Nilsson, *op. cit.* p. 334. [2] *C.I.L.* IX, 1455 (Dessau 6509). [3] See below.
[4] *C.I.L.* IX, 5825; X, 4351, 6310. [5] Cohen, II, 2, 18; 35, 51.

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decorative reliefs also are cited in proof of the grip which the institution fastened upon the imagination of the people. The first, which was disinterred in the Roman forum in the year 1872, is popularly held to depict Trajan bestowing the Alimenta upon Italy. The head of the Emperor however is lost, and a recent scholar contends vigorously that the relief represents Domitian and his care for children in another and a more grievous connection.[1] The second, one of the two great "Arch-way" reliefs on the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum, is quite clear in its reference to the Alimenta. The four women who here greet the Emperor are presumably symbolical of four cities of Italy, Beneventum itself one of them. One woman carries a baby in her arms. With the women are two Roman citizens, one with a little boy riding on his shoulders, one with an older boy standing by his side. "Italy is producing more men and she is doing it with the help of the Alimenta."[2]

Such was the "Tutela Italiae," the State system of maintenance-grants which Nerva invented and Trajan continued. The method for raising the money spent on these grants may seem curiously indirect. But the alternative must have been a direct annual payment from the State to the local Treasury, ear-marked for child-maintenance, and this might have led to waste and extravagance on the part of the Local Authority, which also would not have had the same guarantee that the money would come to it regularly year by year as it possessed under the "Alimentary system." Neither would the direct grant system have helped Italian agriculture, which then would have needed direct grants itself and the expensive evil of a second administrative bureau and staff. Both the farmers and the children stood to gain by the indirect method. Moreover it probably cost the State a good deal less money.

Even so, the latest historian of the early Empire stands amazed, almost aghast, at the system's extent and costliness.

"The alimentary institutions," he writes, "were a great innovation, perhaps the greatest measure of social reform known in history,

[1] Cantarelli, *Fonti per la storia dell' Imp. Traiano.*

[2] Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* Plate XLVIII and notes *ad loc.* p. 308. For the reliefs of the Arch see above, pp. 185–190.

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if one takes into account the economic resources of the day and the purchasing power of money. We should be glad to know the exact amount of the capital that was allotted.... If one generalises from the known examples to all the cities of Italy one reaches such fabulous sums that one can hardly believe the feasibility of the scheme. Nothing shows more clearly how urgent the matter was in the opinion of the age than the amount of these sums.

"The outlay was probably justifiable and necessary. On the success or failure of this experiment the preservation of the national stock depended."[1]

The generalisation is probably too wide and the conclusion too sweeping. Gloomy inferences also have been drawn from the institution of the system, as proving the decay of Italy, the decline in the birth-rate, the growth of poverty, which may well be exaggerated. The Cambridge scholar describes such "institutions of a charitable kind, some even promoted by the Imperial Government, for the benefit of orphans and children of the poor" as being "a credit to the humanity of the age, but surely a palliative of social ailments, not a proof of sound condition."[2] Is English "charity" then and the need for it altogether a *disproof* of sound condition and general prosperity? Does *it* imply a decline in the birth-rate?

The primary object of Nerva's "Alimentary system" seems simple enough, namely the welfare, i.e. the feeding and nurture, of the children of poor parents. Its ultimate object, to help recruiting for the army by an increase of the population, is suggested by the contemporary writer Pliny.[3] This must remain dubious. Large families are hardly the result of an out-relief system (poor parents are not so far-sighted), and Italy since Vespasian's day was to a large measure exempt from the call for recruits.[4] In Nerva's "Alimentary system" it might be enough to see and to applaud simply that traditional Roman sense of the duty of benevolence, even though this Imperial philanthropy took the easy, perhaps uneconomic, form of doles to parents. At least there were no strikes in the busy Roman industrial world which such doles might be expected to prolong.

[1] Nilsson, *op. cit.* p. 336.
[2] Heitland, *Agricola*, p. 271; cf. p. 296.
[3] *Panegyr.* 26, 3; 28, 2.
[4] Cf. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* pp. 87–88, 102–103.

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Such maintenance-grants were mere palliatives of the problems of poverty, unemployment, misery, vice? No doubt there was no final solution in them for such evils. Meanwhile at least they helped the children. Parental responsibility suffered? Meanwhile at least the child ceases to suffer—from lack of food or raiment. The policy of maintenance-grants to children is so familiar, at last, to us today that it hardly admits of criticism when invented by a Roman Emperor long centuries ago.

Nerva, and Trajan after him, deserve our commendation. The adult may have no right to happiness—it is a tenable theory. The adult may have only the duty of assisting others' happiness. The State may have no kind of right—it is a tenable if an unfashionable theory—to guarantee every means of happiness to the adult. But the child is quite another matter. It is not within the child's power to secure sufficiency of food. It is not within the child's power to make for himself the necessary means of happiness, though he may go far to mar them. It is the precise duty of the State to supplement and by example to encourage the efforts of the individual to secure to the child both happiness and food. If this is philanthropy, the old Emperor Nerva was the first of Imperial philanthropists.

His immediate successors, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, steadily pursued the same "alimentary" policy, and from the benignancy of Pius and the sentiment of the philosopher Aurelius the girls received especial benefit. The brutal Commodus, as was natural in such a man, put a stop to the system.[1] But Septimius Severus revived it again as part of his "liberal social policy," even directing his provincial governors to organise and promote it in their provinces.[2] They were directed also to supervise alimentary benefactions made by private individuals—a growth of bureaucracy typical of the time.[3] After Diocletian the system perished for ever. In days of rising prices and increasing poverty children lost their maintenance-grants. "The alimentary institutions became bankrupt. They were in fact no longer needed; the fate of the national Roman element was sealed, and no one attached value

[1] *Vita Comm.* 16, 9. [2] Cf. *C.I.L.* x, 3805; Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* p. 356.
[3] *Dig.* xxxiv, 1, 14, 1; xxxv, 2, 89; *Cod. Just.* iv, 31, 3.

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to it any longer."[1] So the Roman child must go hungry like the rest. Perhaps he was hungrier. It was his clear duty no longer to exist.[2]

§ 3. *Private benevolence.*

Where the great lead, the rich follow. Maintenance-grants for children became a popular method of private benevolence, not only in Italy, but also in the provinces. Wealthy donors bestowed money for such grants at Tarracina, Ferentinum, Florence, Ostia, Como, in Italy,[3] at Hispalis (Seville) in Spain, at Sicca and Curubis in Numidia.[4] Three examples may be given.

At Tarracina, Caelia Macrina, in memory of her son Macer, left one million sesterces to the city with instructions to spend the interest on this sum upon the maintenance of 100 boys and 100 girls. Each boy was to receive 5 denarii a month up to the age of 16, each girl 4 denarii up to the age of 14. As a denarius was worth 4 sesterces, the Tarracina girl received as much as the boy at Veleia under the State system, and the Tarracina boy as much more in proportion. The rate of interest on the capital works out at 4·32 per cent. At Sicca in Numidia the name of the benefactor is lost. His (or her) bequest to the town is made in the following terms:

To my beloved fellow-townsmen of Sicca near Cirta I give 1,300,000 sesterces. To your honesty, my dearest fellow-townsmen, I entrust this sum, that, with the interest upon it of 5 per cent. per annum, 300 boys and 200 girls may be maintained, the boys from the age of 3 to that of 15 years, the girls from the age of 3 to that of 13 years, they to receive, each of them, 2 denarii monthly.

[1] Nilsson, *op. cit.* p. 337.

[2] On the whole subject of the Alimenta, both State and private (cf. the next section), besides its treatment by Nilsson, Rostovtzeff, and Heitland in the works cited, I have found three especially useful sources of information, viz. (1) the article "Alimenta" in Ruggiero's *Dizionario Epigrafico*, pp. 402–410; (2) Miss Alice Ashley's most meritorious paper in the *English Historical Review* for January, 1921, pp. 5–16; (3) an unpublished lecture devoted to the subject by my former pupil and colleague, Capt. C. F. Balleine, Fellow of Exeter College, who was killed on the Western Front early in the Great War.

[3] *C.I.L.* x, 6328; vi, 1492; v, 5262; xi, 1602; xiv, 350.

[4] *C.I.L.* ii, 1174; viii, 1641; viii, 980.

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Both citizens and strangers shall be eligible, provided that the strangers are resident within the boundaries of our colony. It will be best for the children to be chosen by the magistrates of each year, if you so approve. Care must be taken that every vacancy caused by the death of any recipient or upon his or her attaining the age limit shall at once be filled, in order that the full number may always be in receipt of maintenance.[1]

The younger Pliny was the soul of generosity. Among his many gifts to his pet little native town of Como was a considerable benefaction for maintenance-grants to the children (if freeborn) of the township, both boys and girls. He explains very elaborately in a letter[2] how he set about the task of making and safeguarding his gift of half a million sesterces. He might have made it in a direct grant of cash or of land of this precise value. He disliked this simple method. Cash, he remarks, might be squandered. Land in public ownership was likely to be neglected. (Romans were sagacious individualists.) He chose another way, pleasing to a legal mind. First he conveyed an estate of his own which was worth considerably more than half a million to the Borough Treasurer on condition that it should at once be re-conveyed back to him but burdened with a perpetual rent-charge of 30,000 sesterces per annum. This rent-charge was to be paid over annually to the Borough and to be devoted to the maintenance of the children. As a gift in money of half a million would, with interest at 5 per cent., have produced a revenue of 25,000 sesterces only, Pliny was actually giving, as he points out, a good deal more than he had originally promised. He dwells complacently upon the merits of his elaborate scheme. The land remained his own property, and could be given or bequeathed by him in due course to some other owner. But the rent-charge upon it could not be cancelled. Such however was the capital value of the land that he was con-

[1] The donor's arithmetic seems faulty. The cost of the 500 children works out at 55,200 sesterces, whereas 5 per cent. on 1,300,000 amounts to 65,000. It is possible that the difference, 9800 sesterces, was for administrative expenses, but it seems a large sum for the purpose. Hence it has been proposed to read 300 instead of 200 girls. The 600 children would cost 64,800 sesterces, leaving a mere 200 as balance. (Cf. Dessau 6818 and note *ad loc.*) This seems too small however for administration costs, and perhaps the boys should be left with the advantage. How the capital was invested we unhappily do not know.

[2] *Ep.* VII, 18; cf. I, 8.

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fident it would always be a desirable bit of property in spite of the obligation with which it was burdened. It is clear that he reckoned the normal profit of farming it as worth a good deal more than 5 per cent. And the children of Como were guaranteed their 30,000 sesterces annually. Their number and the amount to be received by each are not stated. At "Veleian" rates of pay, the sum would maintain nearly 90 boys and 90 girls, or, if girls received as much as boys (and Pliny was a sentimentalist), nearly 80 of each sex.

In England today the "maintenance-grant" inevitably suggests the school, and the principle of such grants to a parent by the State and by the Local Authority is, except for poor-relief under the Poor Law system or unemployment benefit, bound up with that of education at a Secondary or at a Central School. Higher education must be made possible for the intelligent child, however straitened may be the parent's means, and, for such, school life must not end prematurely. Such education for the children of the people implies of necessity the maintenance-grant.

But the Roman thought first of the feeding, and the "Alimentary system" was never, so far as we know, linked up in any way with any idea of children's education. It was in other ways that this latter object, which today seems so vital to the welfare alike of the individual and the State, came slowly to take its place too, though but a humble one, as a fitting call upon Roman benevolence, both public and private, in these same days of the early Empire.

§ 4. *Schooling.*

Intelligent foreign criticism in days long before the coming of the Roman Empire had fastened upon the State's neglect of education as perhaps the only flaw in Roman institutions. "In this one matter only does Polybius blame us for negligence," wrote Cicero. For many centuries Roman education was publicist and military, and always the concern of the parent. "Nobody of course," a recent writer says, "asked for a particular standard of education. The only educational training required by the State from the aristocratic and freeborn youth of the capital and of the Italian cities was some degree of physical and

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military training."[1] Even Augustus (he of all men!) left "education" severely alone.

It was first in the Flavian period that the Imperial Government began to think of amending the heedlessness of earlier times. Its steps were slow and hesitating. Vespasian began the practice of paying salaries from the State Treasury to teachers of rhetoric, showing a characteristic Roman preference for this then useless art. The learned Quintilian, the first to open a "public school" in Rome, received a salary from the State. Usually teachers still derived their whole income from pupils' fees. They were miserably paid. The satirist Juvenal in the reign of Domitian wrote sarcastically upon their wretched pittance, the slender fees which schoolmaster and private tutor extracted with the greatest difficulty from grumbling parents. "The end of the scholastic year arrives. Come take your 'gold.' Gold! As much as a jockey gets for a single race."[2] Perhaps 500 sesterces for the year. "Nothing costs a father less than does his son."[3] "Neither you nor your laws show any care for the children in your cities"—such was the reproach which the renowned sophist Apollonius of Tyana in the first century could bring against the Romans.[4]

Once initiated by Vespasian, this practice of paying teachers out of State funds was steadily pursued, especially by the wiser Emperors of the second century such as Antoninus Pius,[5] until it can be said enthusiastically that

> The third century represents the climax in the spread of primary education all over the Empire.... Schoolmasters are found in the villages as well as in the cities. Even in the growing poverty of the Empire and the straitened circumstances of the time of the Severi the schoolmaster was treated with respect and consideration.[6]

At least the children of the *bourgeoisie*, though scarcely those of the proletariate,[7] found the means of learning made available

[1] Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* p. 48. [2] *Sat.* VII, 150–243. [3] *Sat.* VII, 188.
[4] The letter (*Ep.* 54) is perhaps a forgery. Cf. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* p. 523.
[5] Sueton. *Vesp.* 18; *Vita Pii*, 11, 3; *Dig.* XXVII, 1, 8.
[6] Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* pp. 375 and 608; cf. *Dig.* L, 5, 2, 8. Cf. the exemption of teachers at Alexandria from the salt *octroi*—"a modest anticipation of the indulgences bestowed upon teachers by the Caesars" (M. Cary, *Documentary Sources of Greek History* (1927), p. 14).
[7] Rostovtzeff, pp. *op. cit.* 178–179.

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for their benefit. That any Roman child was bound by law to attend school at any time lacks evidence. Schooling was neither free nor compulsory in the Roman Empire. Certainly there were city schools in existence in the reign of Trajan. Few of Pliny's letters surpass in interest that which he wrote to his friend Tacitus about his own plan of a school for Como. None is more characteristic alike of the writer's benevolence and of his "canny north-Italian" common sense.[1]

When I was lately at my native place,[2] a young lad, the son of one of my fellow-townsmen, came to pay his respects to me. "Do you go to school?" I asked him. "Yes," said he. "Where?" "At Milan." "And why not here?" "Because," said his father, who was there too and had in fact brought the boy with him, "we have no teachers here." "How is that?" I asked; "surely it would be tremendously to the interest of those of you who are fathers" (and very opportunely several such were listening) "that your sons should have their schooling here rather than anywhere else? For where can they live more pleasantly than in their own town or be kept in better control than under the eyes of their parents or cost less than at home? Surely it is a small matter for you to collect funds and engage teachers on the spot and apply to their salaries what you now have to spend on the boys' lodgings, travelling-allowances, and whatever else a man has to pay for when his son is away from home? Everything away from home costs money.[3] And so I, who as yet have no children of my own, am ready to give a third part of any sum you shall think proper to spend on this object for the benefit of our city which I regard as a daughter or a parent. I would even promise the whole amount did I not fear that my gift might one day be diverted by some jobbery to other uses. For I have seen this happen in several places where teachers are engaged and paid by the local authorities. There is only one way to prevent this mischief, namely, to leave the right of engaging teachers to the parents themselves, who will be so much the more scrupulous to choose aright by having to contribute a part of the expense. Since, though they might perhaps be careless in the matter of another man's money, they will certainly be careful enough about their own. They will take very good heed that none but a deserving person shall receive money from me when at the same time he is to get it from themselves as well.

"Lay your heads together then and devise a scheme, and on a

[1] *Ep.* IV, 13. Cf. J. H. Westcott, *Selected Letters of Pliny*, Boston, 1898, *ad loc.* (No. 48).

[2] I.e. Como.

[3] This sentence is possibly a gloss by a rueful scribe.

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generous scale. For I really do desire the sum I shall have to contribute myself to be as large as possible. You cannot make any better gift to your children or one more pleasing to your town. Those who are born here will get their education here, and from their infancy upwards they will learn to love and to cling to their native soil. I hope you may be able to secure teachers of such distinction that neighbouring towns may look to this town for their studies and that, as now your own children flock away to strange places, so in future strangers may come flocking here instead."

I thought it right [Pliny continues to Tacitus] to explain the whole affair to you from the very start to let you see how very glad I shall be if you will undertake the task which I now ask of you. I implore you therefore as earnestly as so important a matter demands to look round among the great number of students whom the reputation of your genius brings crowding to you and see if you can find teachers whom we may ask to come to us. On one condition, however. I cannot pledge myself beforehand to any one of them. I must leave absolute liberty of choice to the parents. They are to judge and they are to elect. I claim for myself only the trouble and the expense. If then anyone can be found sufficiently confident in his own abilities, let him go to Como on the distinct understanding that he brings with him from Rome nothing certain beyond that same self-confidence of his.

Pliny is cautious. He who pays the piper (or two-thirds of the piper) calls the tune. We do not know what happened, nor whether any young scholar ventured the risk of the long and possibly fruitless journey to Como at his own expense. One thing in Pliny's suggestions is quite noteworthy, namely, his hope that "county" children may be attracted to attend the "city" school even when the "city" is to pay the schoolmaster. The "parochialism" of some English local authorities might take shame at the broader view of the Roman benefactor. If the children of Como, thanks to Pliny's devising and generosity, were to cease to be boarders at Milan eighty miles away and enjoyed instead a "day school" in their native town, other children of the countryside were to be attracted besides to the new school. Perhaps their parents might move and become residents even in Como, to the benefit of the local shopkeeper. But such banausic considerations would appeal more strongly to the modern ratepayer in a small English borough than to the circle of parents whom Pliny's eloquence, we hope, convinced.

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One is tempted, perhaps too curiously, to enquire what the motive was which prompted this increasing care for children's welfare in the Age of Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines. Cannot a man, even a rich man, even an Emperor, be allowed to do kindnesses without a demand for his motive? "Vinci in amore turpissimum est," writes Pliny in justifying one of his many gifts, in this case that of a new temple for the kindly folk of Tifernum on Tiber. But the expectation of gratitude on the part of parents or children is an insufficient motive for benevolence. He who looks for this before he acts had better refrain from acting. Presently, no doubt, Christianity came to reinforce the instinct of kindness.

> And thence I conclude that the real God-function
> Is to furnish a motive and injunction
> For practising what we know already.

But no part of Roman philanthropy can be ascribed to Roman religion. A recent writer attributes "die Entdeckung des Kindes," the "discovery of the child," in the first century of our era to the influence of Stoicism.[1] The Stoic writings of the time seem to lend little aid to this view. General maxims concerning God, Humanity, Brotherhood, and the like, in which the arid soul of a Seneca delighted, are perhaps less directly provocative of kindness to a hungry boy than may be the mere sight of his tears. The "discovery of the English boy," one of the happier features of this our own drab and selfish age, has been set on the credit side of the Great War. Was it civil or frontier war which induced the Roman in peaceful Italy to bethink him of the needs of the children? Was it not rather that innate Roman devotion to the State, that "pietas," instinct in him from the beginning, which so broadened in its scope as now to embrace the children who are the life-blood of the Commonwealth and its one hope for the future?

§ 5. *Italian agriculture: the problem.*

Was the condition of Italian agriculture in the century from Claudius to Marcus Aurelius one of prosperity or the reverse? Did farming pay? Could the small farmer make a living or was

[1] J. Overbeck, quoted in the *Classical Quarterly* for April 1924, p. 110.

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he engaged in a desperate and unprofitable task? Was there a decline in the numbers of the rural population? Were large estates always on the increase and were they the curse of the countryside? Was Italy going downhill into decay and beggary?

Such questions as these provoke conflicting views by way of answer. This is due to the perplexing nature of the evidence available. The gloomy, which is the more popular, opinion takes its stand as upon a rock upon one famous sentence in the elder Pliny's *Natural History*, a voluminous work written in the days of Nero. "Small farms," Pliny writes, "are best. Better sow less and plough more. So the men of old time thought. Virgil too, I see, was of this opinion. *Verumque confitentibus latifundia perdidere Italiam, iam vero et provincias.* Six landlords at one time owned the half of Africa until Nero executed the lot."[1]

"Big estates have been the ruin of Italy." It is but a passing remark, but rightly it has attracted much attention. But of what nature were these big estates? In Nero's day it was "becoming the fashion to denounce the latifundia."[2] Everyone would denounce the "latifundia" of the old type, whether arable or pastoral, with their attendant horrors of the chained slave-gangs, the slave-barracks (ergastula), the overseers, the whips, the misery, the brutality, the starvation. It seems certain that these are not Pliny's "latifundia." The Cambridge scholar, our recognised master in this most difficult subject, says decisively that

> The writers of the Empire when they speak of latifundia are seldom thinking of the crude and brutal plantation system of an earlier time. Those vast arable farms with their huge slave-gangs were now out of fashion. Our records are practically silent as to large-scale arable farming. We are not to suppose that it was extinct, but it was probably rare.[3]

Great slave-gangs in Lower Italy and an abortive slave-rising in the neighbourhood of Brundisium disturbed the Government of Tiberius in A.D. 24. "The free-born folk diminished in

[1] *Nat. Hist.* XVIII, 6, 35. Cf. my *Life of Nero*, pp. 102–103.
[2] Heitland, *Agricola*, p. 249, who instances Lucan.
[3] Heitland, *op. cit.* p. 297.

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numbers daily," writes Tacitus in his description of the rising.[1] But since that time the economic inefficiency of the old system of the ergastula became generally recognised by the experts. "Coli rura ab ergastulis pessimum est," comments the elder Pliny.[2] The elder Seneca speaks still of the ergastula; the younger, Seneca the philosopher, shows that the new practice of letting land to *tenant* farmers was on the increase already under Claudius and Nero.[3] From the point of view of ownership, big estates may still have been on the increase. Great fortunes were daily made by trade and industry and even by official careers in the provinces. It was more than ever popular to invest such fortunes in Italian land and purchase large estates. But it was also the growing custom to parcel these out among small free tenant farmers—coloni—rather than to farm them by a bailiff and unlimited slave labour.[4] Were *these* large estates the ruin of Italy?

Statistics of the population of Italy are wholly lacking. There can be no doubt that the long civil wars from 49–31 B.C. and the spoliations, evictions, and confiscations which were among their consequences must have caused great distress and to some extent a decline in the population for the time being. So Livy, writing under Augustus, tells us that in his time large districts near Rome had scarcely any free inhabitants left.[5] And at least on the track of the troops in Italy in the Civil Wars of A.D. 68–69 similar evils may have resulted. But if agriculture is in a healthy state and economically sound, a land and its inhabitants soon recover from passing woes of the kind. Is a general and persistent decline in the population of Italy during the period under review in any way demonstrable?

It became a familiar practice of the Julio-Claudian Emperors and of their successors to send out agricultural colonies to many parts of Italy. Nerva in particular purchased land on a large scale for the purpose. In itself this is no proof of a diminishing

[1] *Annals*, IV, 27. [2] *Nat. Hist.* XVIII, 36. Cf. Heitland, *op. cit.* p. 285.
[3] Heitland, *op. cit.* pp. 241–243, 246–247.
[4] A view developed at great length by Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, pp. 94–97, 516 (quoting Seneca, *Epist.* 89, 90, and other evidence) and 180–193, 545. It seems to me convincing.
[5] Livy, VI, 12.

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population. There is not the least hint that the colonists were sent to waste or derelict lands, and Nerva's need to purchase lands points in the opposite direction.[1] The latest writer on the subject thinks that the new small landowners went to live in the little cities of Italy and, like the large landowners, were very ready to let out their new farms to tenants or "run them" by agents. So the bourgeois population of Italy increased and the towns became ever more and more flourishing. But the countryside was cultivated all the same, only by tenant farmers.[2]

The civil wars had not affected the development of agriculture in Italy. After their conclusion the conditions of agricultural life remained as they were, except that they became more stable.... Large estates were constantly growing at the expense chiefly of peasant [owned] plots. Alongside of the large estates medium-sized and small holdings increased somewhat in importance.[3]

The Cambridge scholar had already presented us with much the same picture in passage after passage, finely "documented."

The labour-question and the tenancy-question connected therewith were the central issues of the agricultural problem.[4]...Great landlords were giving up the system of slave stewardship for free tenancies.[5]...Practical farming seems to have been passing more and more into the hands of humbler persons, often freedmen, who treated it as a serious business.[6]...(Under Nerva and Trajan) there is this vital change in Italian agriculture, the transfer of farming from a basis of ownership to one of tenancy.[7]...The typical tenant-farmer was certainly a "small man."[8]

At the same time, the institution and the development of the "Alimentary system" does definitely prove the continued existence on a very considerable scale of the *small* farmer who actually owned his farm from Nerva's time onwards. For mere tenants cannot borrow money on the security of the farms, and such security was, as has been seen, the very kernel of the whole Alimentary system. Moreover "most of the mortgages were invested in quite small properties."[9] It is also a fair, if not a

[1] Cf. Pliny, *Ep.* VII, 31, 4; *C.I.L.* VI, 1548; Dio, LXVIII, 2, 1; *Dig.* XLVII, 21, 3, 1, and Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* pp. 329–330.
[2] Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* pp. 33–34.
[3] Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* p. 61.
[4] Heitland, *op. cit.* p. 287.
[5] *Ib.* p. 325.
[6] *Ib.* p. 291.
[7] *Ib.* p. 297.
[8] *Ib.* p. 298.
[9] More especially near Beneventum. The estates at Veleia are on the whole larger. Cf. Nilsson, *Imperial Rome*, pp. 296, 335.

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conclusive, argument that the Emperors would not have sent out their agricultural colonies with such repeated persistence if the small farmer economically was doomed from the outset.

Yet there is a modern chorus of despair concerning the agricultural condition of Italy. The great English editor of Tacitus comments on "the desolation of the rural districts."[1] The German historian of the Roman Empire laments that "Nerva's agricultural colonies were a mere drop in the sea of agrarian distress which already prevailed in the Roman Empire and especially in Italy."[2] And the Cambridge master takes much the same melancholy view. "The whole agricultural interest was going downhill.[3]...Italy was not healthy and vigorous.[4]...There is no lack of evidence as to the lamentable condition of Italian agriculture in a large part of the country.[5]... Vast tracts of Italian land bore witness to the mournful fact that the land system so far from affording a sound basis for social and economic betterment was itself one of the worst elements in the situation."[6] "There is no reason to think that the state of rural Italy was materially bettered by these well-meant efforts" *i.e.* of the Emperors of the Flavian-Antonine period to "arrest Italian decay."[7]

The greatest of Oxford's Camden Professors however, a quarter of a century ago, struck a more cheerful note.

"Trajan," said Pelham in his lecture,[8] "has to deal with a fairly prosperous Italy, not with a desperate situation needing heroic remedies. Modern writers exaggerate the distress in Italy."

For many a long year Pelham's was a voice crying in the wilderness of pessimism and unheeded. At last, in 1926, the Russian historical polymath again so far challenges the popular view of Italy's decay as to maintain that her soil was *not* exhausted, neither in the days of Varro, nor for long years to come, "save perhaps in some parts." "The exhaustion of the soil in Italy in the second and third centuries is a generalisation that cannot be accepted."[9] But otherwise the Russian too takes

[1] Furneaux, *Tacitus' Annals*, I, p. 93.
[2] Schiller, p. 540.
[3] Heitland, *op. cit.* p. 299.
[4] *Ib.* p. 271.
[5] *Ib.* p. 300.
[6] *Ib.* p. 316.
[7] *Ib.* pp. 272, 274.
[8] See my preface to this book.
[9] Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* pp. 329–330, 495.

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but a gloomy view of the agricultural situation.[1] What then of the ancient evidence?

§ 6. *Italian agriculture: the evidence.*

The old antiquarian M. Terentius Varro, quite the most voluminous of Roman writers, about the age of eighty in the year 37 B.C. wrote a monograph on agriculture. In this, his *De re rustica*, there occurs a glowing passage concerning Italy and her fertility:

"You men who have travelled over many lands, have you ever seen any which was better cultivated than Italy?"

"There is none," the traveller replies, "which has so little of its soil uncultivated."

"Italy!" cries a third, "where every useful product not merely grows, but grows to perfection. What spelt is comparable with that of Campania, what wheat with the Apulian, what wine with the Faernian, what oil with the Venafrian? Is not Italy so stocked with fruit trees that she seems to be one vast orchard? Is Phrygia more thickly covered with vines? Is Argos more fruitful? In what other land does the *iugerum* produce fifteen *cullei* of wine, which is the case in some districts of Italy?"[2]

One of these happy districts was Tuscan Faenza (so well known to the British army in Italy in the Great War).[3] The poorest land and most unproductive vines yielded one *culleus* per *iugerum*. Julius Graecinus, a writer of Caligula's day, reckoned the capital value of seven *iugera* at 29,000 sesterces.[4] As one *culleus* was worth 300 sesterces, the return of the poorest land works out at quite 7 per cent. interest on its capital value, and that of the richest at over 100 per cent. No wonder that wine was the popular product for many years until the growth of foreign, i.e. provincial, competition, despite restrictions by Government on its production and export, spoilt the market (except that for the army on the Danube) and, at least by the second century of our era if not already earlier, made corn-growing more profitable to the Italian farmer, big or little. Too

[1] E.g. p. 186.
[2] Varro, *op. cit.* I, 2, 8.
[3] *De re rust.* I, 2.
[4] Columella, III, 3, 8 sq.

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much corn could then not be grown in Italy for home consumption.[1]

One modern scholar thinks Varro's panegyric on Italy somewhat of a rhetorical flourish, "a natural exaggeration in the mouth of a self-complacent Roman agriculturist."[2] A still later economic specialist declares that Varro was "perfectly right." "I cannot see any patriotic exaggeration in the words of Varro."[3]

Who shall decide when experts disagree?

But Varro at any rate lived and wrote "in the days of our ancestors." The gloomy Tacitus must be the next witness, and for the early Empire. His contribution is of the vaguest. Praising the earlier years of Tiberius' administration (up to A.D. 23) he remarks that the Emperor spared no pains or expense to grapple with the "infertility of the lands or the rough and stormy seas" when "the people, through no fault of the prince, suffered from the high price of food."[4] There seems no warrant to deduce from so general a remark any special application to Italian agricultural decadence or to the "inefficiency of Italian agriculture."[5]

Columella's lengthy scientific treatise on agriculture, *De re rustica*, was written and published in the reign of Nero before A.D. 65.[6] Like Varro, the writer praises Italy's fertility. "Most obedient is Italy to men's labours, she who has learnt to produce the crops of almost the whole world when that the tillers of her soil (*coloni*) show zeal." None can doubt, he adds, that there are those of her wines which are the noblest of all which earth produces.[7] Columella's chief interest is still the large farm worked by a bailiff and by slave labour. But the system of tenants is also recognised by him. "Barring risks of storms or brigands, good farming nearly always leaves a profit so that the tenant has not the face to claim a reduction of rent."[8]

[1] Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* pp. 93–94, 189–190, 492–493. Cf. Horace, *Odes*, I, 31 for wine export to the east, Cic. *De Rep.* III, 9, 16 for Government efforts.

[2] Heitland, *op. cit.* p. 179.

[3] Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* pp. 30, 495.

[4] *Annals*, IV, 6, 6.

[5] Heitland, *op. cit.* p. 188.

[6] L. Junius Moderatus Columella of Gades, tribune of Leg. VI Ferrata and serving in Syria and Cilicia in A.D. 36. See Dessau 2923, and Cichorius, *Röm. Studien* (Berlin, 1922), pp. 417–422.

[7] Columella, III, 8, 5.

[8] Heitland, *op. cit.* p. 252.

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"Columella knows very well that current lamentations over the supposed exhaustion of the earth's fertility are mere evasions of the true causes of rural decay, neglect and ignorance. He knows that intensive cultivation pays well."[1]

"Large estates have been the ruin of Italy." The author of the saying, Columella's contemporary the elder Pliny, himself goes far to weaken the impression which his own statement has produced. He is rhetorical and elaborate. His ideal is the "Republican stalwart tilling his little plot of farmland and rewarded by a kindly Nature." "To get (from Pliny) a true picture of the country as a whole is not possible."[2] He is not interested in labour questions or in the different types of land ownership. Yet only his own sonorous Latin can do justice to the warmth of his praise at least of Campania. "Felix ac beata amoenitas, vitalis ac perennis salubritas, talis caeli temperies, tam fertiles campi, tam aprici colles, tam innoxii saltus, tam opaca nemora, tam munifica silvarum genera, tam montium afflatus, tanta frugum vitiumque et olearum fertilitas, tam nobilia pecudum vellera, tam opima tauris colla, tot lacus, tot amnium fontiumque ubertas totam eam perfundens."[3] Pliny too still is apostle for the vine, like Columella. "Corn land must be left lying fallow from time to time. This is not the case with vineyards. Some men think that the soil of Italy is now exhausted. Grow vines and prove them wrong."[4] And he can find no more glowing terms in which to praise sunny Provence than by calling her "Italy rather than a province," "breviterque Italia verius quam provincia."[5] Is this the "Italy ruined by large estates?"

The poet Juvenal's complaints about the large estates and land-hunger of the rich in the Flavian period[6] are the merest stock and sorry commonplaces. Quintilian, "a rare instance of good luck," may have "so many estates," albeit a teacher.[7] But the younger Pliny has to make Quintilian a noble present of money for the wedding trousseau of the scholar's daughter,

[1] Heitland, *op. cit.* p. 265.
[2] Heitland, *op. cit.* pp. 281–287.
[3] *Nat. Hist.* III, 5, 40–41.
[4] *Nat. Hist.* XVII, 5, 40.
[5] *Nat. Hist.* III, 4, 31.
[6] *Sat.* VII, 188; IX, 54; XIV, 140 sq.; XVI, 36 sq.
[7] Juvenal, *Sat.* VII, 186–189.

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inasmuch as the father is of "but moderate means."[1] Juvenal's "evidence" is peculiarly worthless, as the stock denunciations of a professional moralist are bound to be.

Then at last, in the letters of the younger Pliny, the rich and considerate landlord, we seem to reach evidence concerning the agricultural condition of Italy in his own day, that of the Emperor Trajan, which is both plentiful and should be decisive. For Pliny was a landowner on a quite considerable scale as well as the happy possessor, like Cicero, of several country houses, which he describes with gusto. He had inherited one estate, that on Lake Como, from his mother. He had acquired another at Tifernum Tiberinum, near Arezzo in Tuscany, 150 miles from Rome. He had built himself a palace of delight at Laurentum on the coast of Latium seventeen miles south of Rome. His two landed estates were widely separate. Like the wise founder of the earliest of Oxford colleges, from whose sagacity in this respect Merton College derived no small part of its material prosperity, Pliny judged it prudent to have his landed property in different parts of Italy. He himself, this "delicate and gentle literary man,"[2] was not a practical farmer. When he visits one of his estates at the ingathering of the vintage he "potters about in a rather purposeless manner, glad to retire to his study."[3] His estates were cut up into farms and let to working tenants, unless, like Horace[4], he retained just one "Home Farm" at Tifernum, worked by a bailiff and a handful of slaves, for the fun or sentiment of the thing. His letters are full of his worries, and yet delights, as a landowner, the amenities and the perplexities of his farms, the appeals of his tenants and the plague that he finds these. Here above all Pliny is human and delightful, as he can never be when he is describing some oratorical triumph of his own in the obsolete Roman Senate or the musty Centumviral Court.

What then is Pliny's evidence concerning the condition of Italian agriculture in his day as seen through a landowner's eyes? Only a summary of his dozen letters on the subject can supply whatever answer may be forthcoming.

[1] Pliny, *Ep.* VI, 32.
[2] *Ep.* IX, 20, 2; Heitland, *op. cit.* p. 321.
[3] Heitland, *op. cit.* p. 322.
[4] Heitland, *op. cit.* p. 235.

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§ 7. *Italian agriculture: Pliny's letters on the subject.*

(1) Written from Tifernum to a friend, Calvisius Rufus (*Letters*, III, 19):

There are landed properties for sale which adjoin my estate here. Shall I buy them? It would be very pleasant to round off one's property, and the extra cost of administration, etc. would be very small. I should concentrate staff, tools, etc. in one place, and use one of the two granges just as a furnished country house.

On the other hand it seems wiser to safeguard oneself against the chances of fortune by having one's farms in different places. It is a great delight too to travel from place to place round your own farms.

But these lands are fertile, rich, and well supplied with water. They consist of pastures, vineyards, and woodlands, and the timber from these last yields a sure return at any rate, if not a very big one. The land is right enough. But it is spoilt by the feebleness of the tenants [i.e. probably, their lack of ready money]. The late owner mismanaged things badly, and when his tenants fell into arrears of rent he distrained on their farm stock, with the result that they fell into arrears more hopelessly than ever. I shall have to procure labour for them, and that will be expensive. I have no slave chain-gangs available, and no one in these parts uses such. They must have really good useful slave labourers, and such cost more.

The price of the estate now is three million sesterces. Its value used to be five million. But rents have gone down because would-be tenants are difficult to find[1] and thanks to the hard times now. So the value of the estate has gone down too.

My money is pretty well entirely invested in land ("sum prope totus in praediis"). Still I could at a pinch find the three million. I have some capital out at interest and I can easily borrow the balance from my mother-in-law. So this need not worry you. What do you advise? Shall I buy?

This is at any rate the clearest possible evidence of a considerable depreciation in the capital value of land in Tuscany at the moment. But was it temporary and due to special circumstances, or were the causes more permanent?

[1] "Paenuria colonorum": "scarcity of tenants." So Heitland, *op. cit.* (p. 320), and the same difficulty of finding suitable "conductores" for his farms worries Pliny later (*Ep.* VII, 30, 3). Others render it "the poverty of the tenants." But Latin usage favours the former interpretation and a scarcity of would-be tenants would certainly diminish the market value of a vacant farm. That the former tenants had fallen into difficulties is shown clearly earlier in the letters and of course helps to explain the "scarcity."

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(2) Written (obviously) from Tifernum to a friend, Venator (*Letters*, IX, 20):

Here am I, getting the vintage in, a slender crop, but better than I had anticipated. If you may call it "getting in"—to pick a grape here and there, to visit the winepresses, to taste the must in the vat, and to make surprise descents upon my town slaves who are here supervising the country slaves and have abandoned me to secretaries and readers.

This must mean that Pliny kept one of his farms as a "Home Farm" and ran it on the usual lines by means of a bailiff and a working staff of slaves. "We can guess," writes the Cambridge scholar, "what a drag upon Italian agriculture the slavery system really was: here is a man full of considerate humanity, devoted to the well-being of his slaves, who cannot trust one of them to see that others do their work."[1] This is surely a somewhat sweeping inference from the natural amusement of a "surprise visit."

(3) Written to the Emperor Trajan in Rome, A.D. 99 or 101[2] (*Letters*, X, 8):

Would you be kind enough to grant me thirty days' leave of absence from Rome? One of my reasons for asking is that I ought to visit my farms at Tifernum, 150 miles away. My old five-year leases are running out, and it is important for me to get the new tenants in before vine-pruning begins [i.e. soon after the grapes were picked in October]. My annual rents there amount usually to four hundred thousand sesterces, but the vines have yielded so badly for so long that I may have to make some remissions of rent and ought to be on the spot to see about this.

Trajan gave Pliny his "leave." It is at least clear that Pliny enjoyed quite a large income from land.

(4) Written from Como to a friend, Valerianus (*Letters*, II, 15):

How do your old Marsian estates fare? And how do you like your new purchase? Not up to expectation quite, as usual?

As for me, my mother's estates are letting me down badly. None the less, I am fond of them, because they *were* my mother's. And I

[1] Heitland, *op. cit.* p. 321.

[2] Merrill (Pliny, *Select Letters*, p. 411) shows reason for preferring A.D. 99 to Mommsen's A.D. 101.

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am pretty well hardened to be patient by now. One can't go on complaining for ever.

Other folk besides Pliny bought land. The "ideal of the *rentier*" is widespread. Land is a safe investment.[1] To grumble is a landlord's and a farmer's prerogative.

(5) Written from Laurentum to a friend, Julius Naso (*Letters*, IV, 6):

I hear that my Tuscan farms have been damaged by a hailstorm, but that up north of the Po crops are excellent. Down go prices in both places! The only income really that I get nowadays is from Laurentum, and that in the shape of literary output. I have nothing here but a villa and a garden and sands of the sea-shore. Elsewhere I can show you full barns, at Laurentum a filled writing-desk. So if *you* want sure and rich estates, come and get something on the coast here.

Hailstorms are still the great menace to the vines of north Italy, despite all the invocations to kindly Saints or the discharge of ancient firearms. Vines, like Kentish hops, are a tricky business. One storm will destroy the whole year's produce. Pliny cannot resist an epigram concerning full barns, spite of its inconsistency with the burden of his grief.

(6) Written to a friend, Junior (*Letters*, VIII, 15):

Your vintage is such a sorry one that you have actually time to read a book, you say. Just the same on my own little fields, I hear! So I have time for scribbling a letter to you too, if I can afford the paper to write on, that is! If it is poor rough stuff, well, tear the whole thing up if I make up my mind to write at all. It won't be worth keeping.

A gay little note, if hardly of Elia quality, but worth keeping a copy of and publishing.

(7) Written to a friend, Mamilianus (*Letters*, IX, 16):

I've neither time nor desire to go a'hunting now, like you: no time, because I have the vintage on my hands at the moment; no desire because it's a poor one. Here are some new poems for you instead of new wine.

[1] Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* p. 185; cf. p. 143.

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(8) Written to the Lady Calvina, the object of Pliny's particular bounty, on the occasion of a special act of generosity (*Letters*, II, 4):

Don't be uneasy because you think I can't afford it. 'Tis true that my fortune is but a modest one, and my position in life involves a good deal of expense. And as for rents—really my lands are in such a state that rents are as small as they are uncertain. Still, economy must make up for diminishing income. In your case at least the stream of my benevolence must flow bountifully.

A rather difficult letter for the lady to answer.

(9) Written to his friend, Calvisius (*Letters*, VIII, 2):

Other folk go off to their estates to come back richer men: I, poorer. I had sold the hanging crop of my vineyards for a good round sum. There was quite keen bidding by the merchants at my auction, for prices then were good and looked like remaining good. Then the vines after all turned out badly, and so in common justice I have had to make remissions. I have let them off an eighth of the purchase money all round, with some additional concessions to the larger buyers and to those who have already paid up in cash part of the money. This has cost me a lot, but it really was worth while, for the whole countryside is ringing with my praises at so novel a handling of the matter.

Bidding at the like auction next year would still be keen.

(10) Written to a friend, Varus (*Letters*, VI, 3):

So many thanks for taking a lease of the little farm which I gave as a present to my old nurse. When I gave it to her, it was worth a hundred thousand sesterces. Now rents have gone down and it isn't worth so much. But under your care it will recover.

It does not appear whether the old lady tried to farm it herself or had been "let down" by a rascally tenant. If the former were the case, perhaps idle slaves were the root of the mischief?[1]

(11) Written to Paulinus, consul-elect, A.D. 107 (*Letters*, IX, 37):

I shall not be in Rome on the First to greet you on your entering on your office, but I know you will excuse me. The fact is, I am kept in the country just now by estates' business. My tenants' leases—the usual five-year leases—are expiring. All these last five years they

[1] Heitland, *op. cit.* pp. 318–319.

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have received one remission of rent after another from me. In spite of this, arrears have gone mounting up steadily and, despairing of ever being able to pay their debts, they have been grabbing recklessly at everything that grows. It isn't they themselves, they reckon, who will get any good from saving.

I see only one remedy—to try a radical change of system, at least by way of experiment, and lease the farms not for a fixed cash rent any longer but on a profit-sharing basis. This promises at least to be fair, for the income will depend just on soil, climate, and the weather. Then I will send men of my own too to keep an eye on the crops. This means finding honest sharp-eyed fellows, and a good many of them too. But, like doctors, we must try a change of treatment when the disease is of long standing.

Unhappily we do not know whether Pliny's *métayer* system proved a success.

§ 8. *Italian agriculture: conclusion.*

What conclusions concerning the condition of Italian agriculture in the days of Trajan are to be drawn from this batch of letters? The Cambridge scholar is of opinion that "the glimpses of agricultural conditions that we get from Pliny's letters do not as a rule give us a cheerful picture."[1] Was Italy fast becoming but a Wiltshire "Poverty Bottom"?

The poorer soils of England are falling into decay and taking with them the nucleus of a whole class, the farmers, whether tenants or owners, who farm 100, 200, or 300 acres. They dare not spend money; and though they may keep alive by the negative process of not spending, they ruin the land, and it will ruin them if they stay long enough. For the first time since the collapse in the 'eighties, it is now becoming difficult, even when rents are reduced to vanishing point, to find successors.

This *dégringolade*, this falling back into an undrained, unfenced, unploughed, unweeded prairie is not capable of exaggeration in reference to the Marlborough Downs and many other chalk or clay farms.[2]

This is strongly reminiscent of the complaints in the last of Pliny's letters cited above. "Taking everything out and putting nothing in"; "the recklessness of despair"; "rents down to

[1] Heitland, *op. cit.* p. 320.
[2] W. Beach Thomas in *The Spectator* for May 29, 1926.

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vanishing point." As for profit-sharing, how share what does not exist?

Yet Pliny counted on getting his "return"—*reditus*—by the new system. And neither northern Tuscany, nor the Po valley, nor Umbria, nor Campania, were "chalk or clay."

Grumbling there is in the letters, and plenty of it, and grumbling never makes a cheerful picture. "Times are bad." "Best give up farming altogether." When the vintage is poor, "hardly worth the ingathering." When it is a bumper crop, "hardly worth the selling: look at the price one gets!" Some land *is* depreciating in value, it is certain. Pliny, the Roman optimist (in fact), at once seizes the chance to buy. The decline in value, he holds, is not beyond recovery. He adds field to field. "I can find the money somehow"—to buy more land. How shall he provide a pension for his old nurse? "Give her a little farm." "Others" also buy land. "Others" make a profit from the land. Only the generous Pliny makes no profit. The temptation recurs. He buys more land. "Sum prope totus in praediis."

And one stark fact stares in the face those who believe in the agricultural decay of Italy, and that fact is Pliny himself and not what he writes about his farms. For Pliny dies a wealthy man. He was not indeed one of the millionaires of the day, now making their appearance rather in the provinces than in the capital, an Opramoas of Lycia, a Eurycles of Sparta, a Herodes Atticus of Athens. Pliny was one of the "moderately rich men, mostly landowners, who are so numerous in the Flavian-Antonine period throughout the Empire in place of the few multimillionaires of the Julii-Claudii."[1] His "moderate riches" are certainly proved by his generous gifts. (It must be remembered that he had no children.) To Comum—a library worth a million sesterces with another hundred thousand for upkeep; one-third of the cost of a new school; a rent-charge of capital value more than half a million sesterces for "alimenta"; another half-million or more for a new and richly decorated bath; nearly two millions for pensions to his freedmen and an annual dinner to the "plebs." To Tifernum—a temple (as well

[1] Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* pp. 142–143.

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as another to Comum). To Quintilian's daughter a marriage dowry of fifty thousand sesterces. To his old nurse a farm worth a hundred thousand. To the young lad Romatius Firmus three hundred thousand sesterces. To the Lady Calvina, a heavy debt on her father's estate forgiven and a hundred thousand sesterces besides for a marriage portion. What limit was there to Pliny's generosity?[1]

How did Pliny make his money? Partly no doubt by inheritance. But of his own earnings his practice at the Roman Bar can have given him but a tiny fraction, if Juvenal, so scornful of the advocate, may be trusted. "Who today would give 200 pence to Cicero?"[2] But Tifernum yields him four hundred thousand sesterces a year in rents. "Sum prope totus in praediis," even though he may invest part of his money in other directions unspecified. A generous friend, a munificent patron, a kindly gentleman, a considerate landlord, Pliny is no proof of the decay of Italian agriculture in the reign of Trajan.

One mistake made is surely that of speaking of "Italy" as a single term. Parts of the land, Campania, the Po Valley, Tuscany, Umbria, those so richly blest with the "beauty's fatal dowry" of which the great Italian poet Filicaia sings, must always have been prosperous. Other districts such as Latium, the central highlands, many parts of South Italy, can always have maintained a rural population only with difficulty. But there seems very little evidence that this difficulty was greater in the first two centuries of our era than it had been earlier. Neither is there any proof of any shortage of supply in the labour market or of any depopulation in the days of the Flavian Emperors and their next successors.

Vines, on whose merits the agricultural writers dwell so insistently, preaching perhaps to stubborn ears,[3] and the profits from vines were increasingly threatened by the rapid development of the western provinces and their export trade. And it is always hard to persuade farmers that markets change and that

[1] Pliny's gifts: see his *Letters*, *passim*: e.g. I, 8, 19; II, 4; III, 4, 6; IV, 1, 13; V, 7; VI, 32; VII, 18; IX, 39; X, 8; *C.I.L.* V, 5262 (=Dessau 2927). Cf. Mommsen, *Étude sur Pline le Jeune*, trans. Morel, 1873, pp. 74–78.

[2] Juvenal, *Sat.* VII, 106–149.

[3] Cf. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* pp. 93–94.

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their own produce should change with them. Yet there is never a hint in Pliny of foreign or provincial competition, of the evil (to the home farmer) of imported food or wines. Even if, after his day, the export trade contracted, there was still the home market, always clamorous for food.

There remains the clear and certain evidence that the small farmer in Italy, whether owner or tenant, with his domestic household and, we may suppose, a handful of slaves, did abound. The "praedial serfdom," the "colonate" of later centuries, was not yet. There is not the least hint that at any time in the century from Claudius to Antoninus Pius any Italian land was going out of cultivation, until that most fatal day when "the fantastical colleague of the philosophic emperor Marcus Aurelius, returning in triumph from the East, had brought in his train, among the enemies of Rome, one by no means a captive,"[1] and the plague swooped down on Italy. Then indeed, as in fourteenth-century England, the land lay waste, and with the dying husbandmen their very system of land tenure, as also in England, began to pass away.[2] That the small tenant farmer should become the serf of the fourth century was "part of the Roman fate."[3] "Great estates have been the ruin of Italy." The great estates themselves in the century under review were mainly of a new type. It is at least "not proven" that they ruined Italy. It is highly doubtful whether Italy was in fact ruined at all.

[1] Pater, *Marius the Epicurean*, chapter VII—perhaps the most wonderful chapter in a wonderful book, now, so we are told, "never read."

[2] Cf. J. R. Green, *Short History of the English People*, chapter V, section 4 (still read?). It is interesting to note the process at work in England in the reverse direction to that of the Roman Empire, i.e. away from and not towards praedial serfdom, *accelerated* by the pestilence.

[3] Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* p. 212.

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CHAPTER X

TRAJAN AND DACIA: THE FIRST DACIAN WAR

§ 1 The cause of the Dacian Wars. § 2 Geography of Dacia. § 3 The First Dacian War: the campaign of A.D. 101. § 4 The bridge over the Danube. § 5 The enemy's winter raid. § 6 The campaign of A.D. 102.

§ 1. *The cause of the Dacian Wars.*[1]

THE peace which Domitian had concluded in A.D. 92 with Decebalus, king of Dacia, had left the Romans in a relation to their northern neighbour of less than "nominal suzerainty." Dacia was still entirely independent of Rome, even though the raids over the Danube had been driven back.[2]

It has been recently suggested[3] that Domitian, when he abandoned the plan of continued military operations, still remained hopeful of absorbing Dacia in due course into the Empire, relying upon the peaceful penetrative influences of Roman civilisation and its "emollient properties." Roman craftsmen lent to Decebalus, with their Roman manners and Roman arts, and all such Roman "invitamenta pacis," were in process of time to soften the hardy northerner and his family, and so at least restrain him from foraging over the frozen Danube, or even make him covet admission into the Empire.

In a province long since conquered Agricola had been the famous exemplar of this insidious policy. But even he had not found it completely a success. And beyond the Danube, the author of the theory himself admits, "it failed to triumph over an unusually formidable assemblage of unfavourable circumstances." There exists no hint of any recognition by Domitian's contemporary or later critics that the Emperor so craftily designed this emollient policy. The theory need detain us no longer. Decebalus used the craftsmen with very different views and results.

[1] For an explanation of all the references in this chapter, Cichorius, Petersen, Stuart Jones, Davies, Von Domaszewski, Lehmann-Hartleben (cited as L-H. in subsequent notes), etc. see chapter XI, Note D.

[2] See above, chapter VII, § 2.

[3] G. A. T. Davies, *J.R.S.* VII, pp. 83–89.

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It has been argued that the Dacian king used the few years' interval between his wars with Rome to aggrandise himself at his neighbours' expense to east and west, and that it was this his activity and increasing strength which provoked Trajan to attack him. The sole evidence for this view is a short phrase of doubtful interpretation. Among the terms of peace imposed on him after the "First Dacian War" by Trajan was "the evacuation of captured territory."[1] But whether the words mean "captured by Decebalus," or "captured by the Romans" is matter of bitter controversy. If the former view be adopted,[2] it is supposed that Decebalus had since A.D. 92 been encroaching upon the territory of the Jazyges beyond the Theiss. Stress too is laid upon the "invariable relation of enmity" between Dacians and Sarmatians, the Roxolani to the east of Dacia, and a muddled statement in Jordanes is invoked to prove friendly intercourse between Jazyges and Roxolani.[3] Certainly they shared in the joy of raiding over the Danube.[4] But the Roxolani at least, as will be seen, assisted the Dacians in such raiding in the winter after Trajan's first campaign. And the only sure evidence that the Dacian had seized the Jazyges' lands belongs to the period separating Trajan's two Dacian wars and not to that preceding the outbreak of hostilities. The second view holds the field,[5] that during the first war the Romans had captured Dacian territory and the king agrees to surrender it. The German indeed concludes that Sarmizegetusa itself lay in such captured territory, and hence comes his construction of the strategy of the Second War which, as will be seen, is wildly improbable. But such flights of fancy need not prevent the acceptance of this second interpretation of the disputed phrase.

It cannot then be assumed that Decebalus attracted Trajan's attention because he had been extending the borders of his kingdom since A.D. 92. That he had been strengthening its defences however is more certain, and by means of Roman

[1] τῆς χώρας τῆς ἑαλωκυίας ἀποστῆναι. Dio, LXVIII, 9, 5.

[2] As by Davies, p. 88, and Petersen, II, 3–4.

[3] *Getica*, XII, "Jazyges ab Roxolanis Aluta tantum fluvio segregantur" —as though Dacia did not exist!

[4] Cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* IV, 54; Dio, LXXI, 19.

[5] Cichorius and Stuart Jones, pp. 446–447, whose argument from language is convincing, as against Petersen.

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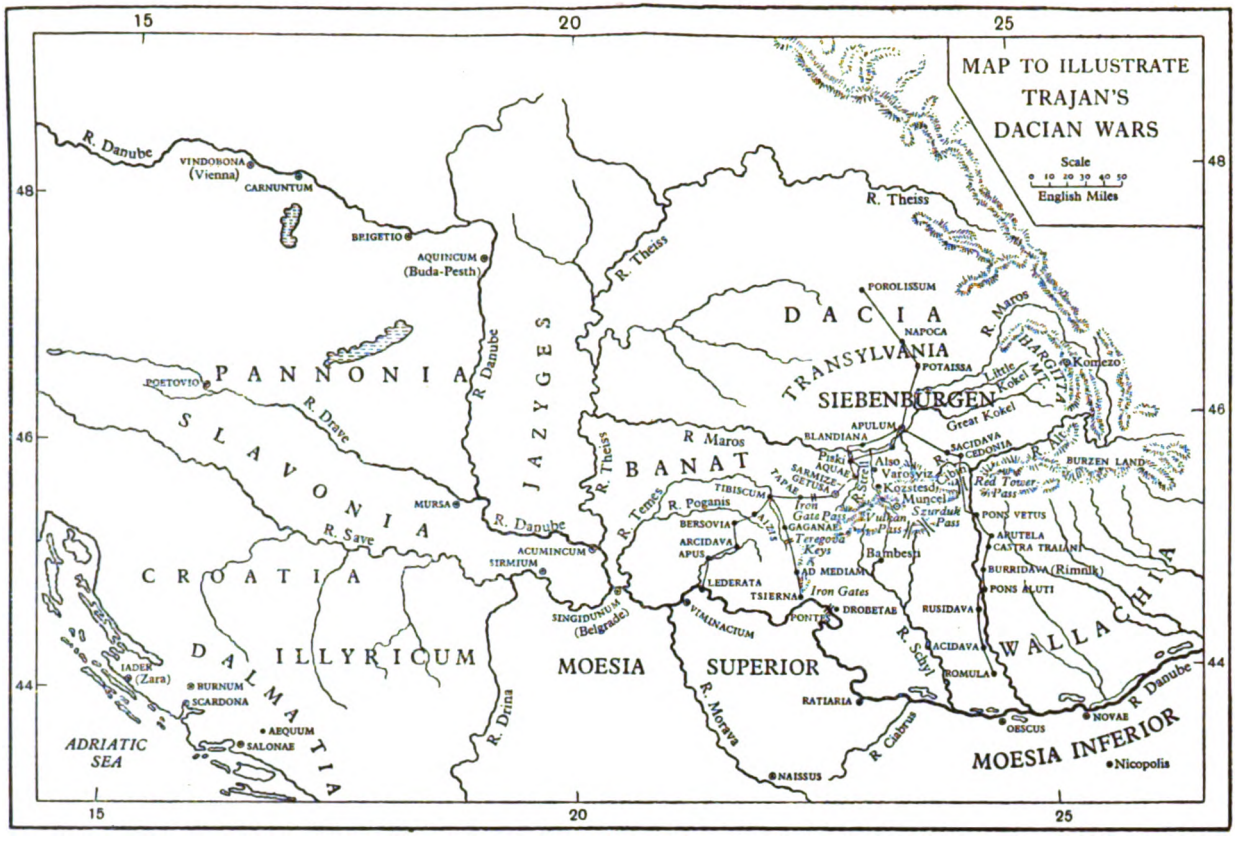

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engineering skill. When the Romans in their first campaign in A.D. 101 invaded the Banat, the Dacian fortresses Arcidava, Bersovia, Tibiscum, which blocked the road were of Roman workmanship,[1] and the inconclusive result of the year's campaign may have been due in part to this, as will be seen. There came also a message to Trajan, as he lay before the Dacian entrenchments at Tapae, from the Buri "and other allies," which advised him to go back home again.[2] If, as seems likely, these were allies of the Roman, tribes in the plain of the Theiss, this too emphasises the formidable character of the Dacian resistance.

Trajan's motives therefore in his attack on Dacia are not far to seek. He spent, as has been seen, the first winter of his new reign upon the Danube. He saw no prospect of stability in the peace of A.D. 92. The Dacian king was energetic. The annual subsidy paid by Domitian irked the soldier Emperor and might well seem to him unworthy of the dignity and strength of Rome. That the gold-mines of Dacia lured the Roman on is an unlikely suggestion, for there is no indication that at the outset of the struggle Trajan planned the annexation of the country. That Decebalus for his part was guilty of any positive act of provocation is not asserted. When Trajan is on the river, cried his panegyrist, a few months before the war began, not even the frozen Danube can entice the wild races to avail themselves of the chance. Trajan turns winter into summer, and keeps them "penned up in their lairs."[3] To the soldier attack may be the best means of defence. Little can be added to the statement of the cause of the Dacian Wars given by the ancient chronicler. "Trajan attacked the Dacians, considering their deeds in the past, and being angered by the subsidy which they received yearly. He saw their strength also and their power increasing and their high spirit."[4] Elsewhere no danger seemed to threaten the Empire. He himself would strike the first blow. Orders were issued for the mobilisation of an army from the legions of Moesia and Pannonia, and in the spring of A.D. 101 the Roman

[1] Davies, p. 83, convincingly, as against Von Domaszewski, *Phil.* p. 327; accepting the identifications proposed for the reliefs on the Column.

[2] Dio, LXVIII, 8, 1. More of this later.

[3] Pliny, *Panegyr.* 12.

[4] Dio, LXVIII, 6, 1.

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troops crossed the Danube and marched northwards, their Emperor at their head.[1] At least three legions (I Adjutrix, I Italica, and VII Claudia),[2] praetorians from Rome, the special Imperial bodyguard of "equites singulares," engineers, auxiliaries (foot and horse), slingers, artillery, scouts, and all the usual paraphernalia of Roman war, formed the army of invasion. Its total strength is quite uncertain, modern estimates varying from 25,000 to 100,000 men. All that can be said with confidence is that in this first campaign Trajan either took too few men or marched too slowly, and failed to reach his objective. In his other invasions of Dacia, those of A.D. 102 and A.D. 106, he committed neither of these mistakes again.

Note: The position of the legions on the Danube frontier is derived from Ptolemy, II, 14, 15; III, 9, 10: viz.

In Pannonia: I *Minervia* (Vindobona); XIII *gemina* (Poetovio ?); I *Adjutrix* (Brigetio); II Adjutrix (Aquincum); XIV gemina (Carnuntum).

In Upper Moesia: IV *Flavia felix* (Singidunum); VII *Claudia* (Viminacium).

In Lower Moesia: XI Claudia (Novae ?); I *Italica* (Durostorum); V *Macedonica* (Troesmis ?).

Those in italics are known to have taken part in the Dacian Wars (Dessau 2656, 2661, 2308, 1035, 2654). Cf. Hardy, *Studies in Roman History*, pp. 224–225. But there is much difference of opinion between Cichorius, de la Berge (p. 42), and others, as to which legions took part in the First War, and there can be no certainty.

§ 2. *Geography of Dacia.*

The whole of Dacia lay north of the Danube, which river, east of the mouth of the Theiss, formed its southern boundary. A few miles above the Roman "bridgehead" of Drobetae, the river has cut the gorge through the cliffs known as the Iron Gates. Below the gorge it trends first to south-east and then to east, while from the same point the mountain chain of the Transylvanian Alps runs north-east, enclosing between its heights and the distant Danube the great levels of the Wallachian plain. Over this plain the Dacians seem to have roamed at will. But the heart of their land was the wild hill country which lay between the Transylvanian Alps on the south and the main

[1] For the precise composition of the army of invasion see the note at the end of the section. For the chronology see chapter XI, Note E.

[2] Possibly five, adding IV Flavia felix from Upper Moesia and XIII gemina from Pannonia. See note at end of section.

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chain of the Carpathians on the north. On the west, the Theiss formed the boundary of Dacia, separating its folk from the Jazyges horsemen. On the east no definite boundary to independent Dacia was ever known. Neither did Roman Dacia, when Trajan had annexed the land, ever extend, to east, west, or north, over more than possibly a small part of Decebalus' former kingdom.[1]

The hill country of Dacia is intersected from east to west by the valley of the river Maros (Marisus). In its upper course this river flows through the rough country of the Siebenburgen, deriving its own waters and those of some considerable tributaries from the distant Hargitta Mountains. Presently it reaches the level plains and flows through them due west to join the Theiss. South of it in this, its lower, course lies the country known as the Banat.

Circling through the Banat there flows another river, the Temes (Tibiscus), from its source in the south-western Transylvanian Alps. Pursuing first a northward, then a westward, and finally a southward course, it reaches the Danube a few miles below Belgrade. Where this river issued from the mountain barrier lay the most accessible of the few "passes" into the heart of Dacia. This was the Iron Gate Pass. It could be reached from the Danube shore by one of two routes, both of which figure on the ancient Imperial map of Roman roads known as the Peutinger Table.[2] The first route started from Viminacium, crossed the Danube at Lederata, followed up the small Apus river to Arcidava, crossed a low watershed to Bersovia, and turned eastwards to Aizis (or Azizis) and Tibiscum. The second began lower down the Danube at Tsierna and led due north, skirting the foothills of the Transylvanian Alps, over a low pass, known as the Teregova Keys, to Gaganae and Tibiscum, where it joined the other longer but easier route. East of Tibiscum lay the entrance to the Iron Gate Pass, a few miles beyond which was built the royal capital city Sarmizegetusa.

Such was the western gate of entry into Dacia. There were besides one or two others on the south. The river Schyl rises

[1] See below, chapter XI, § 3.

[2] See chapter XI, Note B.

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in the Transylvanian Alps and flows south to enter the Danube some score of miles above the Roman station of Oescus. At the source of the two streams which presently join to make the main river, the mountain ridge is crossed by the Vulkan Pass to west and the Szerduk Pass to east. Further to the east the large river Alt, the Roman Aluta, has pierced its way through the Alps on its way from its distant source in the Hargitta Mountain (near the springs of Maros) to the Danube below Oescus. The valley through the Alps goes by the name of the Red Tower Pass.

The Red Tower Pass was always well known. After the annexation of Dacia a Roman road traversed it, which ran up the Aluta by Acidava, Rusidava, Pons Aluti, and many another station to Cedonia, north of the mountain chain, and so to Apulum on the Maros.[1] No such road is known to have used either the Szerduk or the Vulkan Pass. The latter is described, even since the new road over it was built in 1884, as "one of the most difficult passes in the Carpathians."[2] It is not likely that Trajan made use of it for any of his campaigns.[3] The Szerduk Pass again is not even suggested. A decisive passage in Jordanes declares that "Dacia, girt by a ring of mountains, has two ways of entry only, the one through Boutae, the other through Tapae."[4] Tapae, twice the scene of bitter fighting,[5] lay, beyond all reasonable doubt, at the entrance to the Iron Gate Pass, guarding Sarmizegetusa. Boutae, otherwise unknown, can only be the Red Tower Pass in the Aluta valley.[6]

Between the Transylvanian Alps' northern slopes and the Maros valley there lies, west of the Red Tower Pass, a wild stretch of hill country known as the Mühlbach Mountains, deriving its name from its chief river, the Mühlbach, which flows north from the Alps to enter the Maros near Apulum. Smaller streams, to the west of the Mühlbach, are the Varosviz and the Strell. High up above the Varosviz valley is the lofty fortress of the Muncel Cetate. On the Strell, a few miles south

[1] See chapter XI, Note B, for the list of stations.
[2] Davies, *Top.* p. 23.
[3] Despite Petersen, pp. 69–70; and Cichorius on Scene LXIV.
[4] *Getica*, XII, 74. [5] Under Domitian and under Trajan.
[6] Cf. Davies, *Top.* p. 24; Stuart Jones, p. 439.

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of the Maros, are the hot springs of Kis Kalan, where is the small watering place today of Kalan Furdö. This is the Roman Aquae, the first station out from Sarmizegetusa, fourteen Roman miles away, on the road from the capital to Apulum. Both Muncel Cetate and Kis Kalan figure in the reconstruction of Trajan's campaign of A.D. 102. All these river valleys in the Mühlbach Mountains trend from south to north. From east to west no road runs across the ridges from the Red Tower Pass to Sarmizegetusa. The long détour by Apulum and Aquae was the practicable roadway.

The rest of Dacia, the great stretch of country north of Maros and east of Aluta, does not come into the story of the Roman conquest of Dacia, in spite of some suggestions to the contrary.[1]

§ 3. *The First Dacian War: the campaign of* A.D. 101.

One precious fragment, of five words only, survives from Trajan's own account of his Dacian Wars. It is embedded in an ancient lexicographer, one Priscian of Caesarea, of early sixth-century date, and runs: "Traianus in primo Dacicorum: Inde Berzobim, deinde Aixi[m], processimus."[2] Short as it is, it and it alone reveals the route of the invading army and therewith the Emperor's strategical plan. The route is the most westerly of the Roman roads and starts from Viminacium as its base of operations, leading by Bersovia and Aizis to the Iron Gate Pass.[3] The plan was to strike direct for the enemy's capital, Sarmizegetusa, just beyond the Pass. It was the obvious strategy and the obvious route. None the less, the fragment is decisive and adds to the regret for the entire loss of Trajan's *Commentaries* apart from the one sentence. For the *Dacica* would have vied surely in interest and value with Caesar's own *Commentaries* themselves.

The sculptured reliefs of the "Trajan Column" must eke out the rest of the story. For the excerpts from the third-century chronicler Dio Cassius[4] give us for all four campaigns little

[1] Cf. Cichorius' use of Hargitta Mountain, etc. See p. 285.
[2] VI, p. 682, ed. Putsch. Davies, *Top.* p. 5.
[3] See § 2.
[4] See chapter XI, Note A.

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indeed beyond a few picturesque incidents, which will have to be fitted into the consecutive narrative as opportunity offers. It is curious that two of the most picturesque of these incidents are not represented upon the Column. The sculptor seems to have missed his chance. Yet upon the 155 "Scenes" of the wars which the Column presents such ingenuity has been lavished and such success attained in their interpretation[1] that it were almost petulant to complain against the sculptor. The interpretation indeed varies according to the interpreter and controversy rages furiously upon almost every suggestion regarding the identification of the scenes and their meaning for the history of the wars. The first of these controversies strikes upon us at the very outset of the first campaign of the First War.

The pictured story begins with the Roman "Watch on the Danube" and the commissariat activity in preparation for the invasion. Boats bring kit and barrels up stream. The latter are full of wine[2] or of meal.[3] Then the army crosses the Danube by two pontoon bridges side by side, the majestic figure of the River God himself assisting to support their boats. Over the one bridge march the praetorians; over the other the legionaries.[4]

That more than one bridge was built by the capable and experienced Roman engineers at Lederata, hard by Viminacium, is probable enough. Though the artist may well have desired an ampler field than that supplied by a single bridge whereon to represent the different elements of Trajan's army upon its departure, the soldier's desire to expedite the passage of the troops over the river may even more reasonably account for the two bridges. Two bridges then there surely were.

But from the two bridges Germans deduce a crossing at two different and widely separated places, by two columns of invasion,[5] which eventually have to join forces in the distant north, either before or after the first brush with the enemy. The

[1] Above all is Cichorius to be mentioned *honoris causa*. Cf. chapter XI, Note C.

[2] Cichorius.

[3] Von Domaszewski, "It is quite unknown to me that the Roman soldier got wine in the field."

[4] Scenes III, IV.

[5] So, first, Cichorius, followed by Petersen.

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first column, under Trajan, marches from Lederata by the Bersovia route to the Iron Gate Pass. Somewhere *en route* (at Tibiscum, no doubt) it is joined by the second column which has crossed the Danube many miles below at Drobetae, or at Tsierna, or at Oescus(!),[1] and marched by the "Keys of Teregova" route to the place of meeting. Its commander was Laberius Maximus. In this way the Romans intelligently anticipated the glorious, if risky, Prussian strategy which led to the crowning victory of Sadowa in the campaign against Austria in 1866, where the two Prussian armies united on the very field of battle.[2] It is a tendencious "reminiscence." It is also discouraging to find the German expositors quarrelling bitterly concerning the place of crossing, the scene of meeting[3], the very details of the reliefs. That different standards are carried is certain. But even the German with Sadowa to his credit refuses his confrère's argument that this too proves two different separated armies.[4]

The Englishmen vigorously dissent. "The case for a combined movement breaks down at every point. No such strategy was actually adopted."[5] That Trajan divided his first army of invasion is in very fact most unlikely. The two bridges rested on the river, as in the relief, side by side at Lederata. Over them the Emperor led his undivided force to pursue the well-known easiest route towards his objective, the enemy's capital.

All that remains of the Greek chronicler's account of this campaign runs as follows:

When Trajan was marching against the Dacians and drew near to Tapae, where the barbarians were encamped, a great fungus was brought to him, whereon was written in Latin letters a warning from others of the allies and from the Buri, telling him to go back again and not disturb the peace.

But Trajan joined battle, and saw many of his own men wounded, and slew many of the enemy. When even the bandages were exhausted, he is said not to have spared his own clothing, but cut it

[1] But to Von Domaszewski Oescus is a veritable obsession.
[2] Petersen, I, 25–27; Von Domaszewski, *Phil.* p. 328.
[3] Scene XXVI (Cichorius), XXII (Petersen), XXIV (others).
[4] Petersen, I, p. 12.
[5] Stuart Jones, pp. 442–444, and Davies, *Top.* pp. 5–6. The latest German, L-H. (p. 68), agrees with the English view.

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up into strips. And to those of his soldiers who met their end he is said to have set up an altar and commanded sacrifice to be offered yearly upon it.[1]

There were two essential preliminaries to be observed upon the setting out of a Roman army, the "lustratio," or the purification by due sacrifices offered, and the "adlocutio," or commander's harangue which followed. These are duly depicted in early "Scenes" upon the Column.[2] Between the two the artist has depicted a curious incident. Here a barbarian lies sprawling on the ground before Trajan and two of his staff officers (Sura, possibly, and Livianus). The native lies in an ungainly attitude beside his mule. The animal is placid, though an imaginative writer declares that it looks round at its fallen master "maliciously lowering its ears."[3] The barbarian, unless he rode into the Imperial presence with his face towards the tail of his steed, has achieved "one of the surely few physically impossible ways of falling off an animal."[4] In his right hand he holds a club. Between his left forearm and the mule's flank there is depicted a large round spotted object. This is surely the veritable fungus, urges the German, and the barbarian is a Bur, or a messenger from his folk.[5]

But why has the rider fallen? Many explanations are proffered. The misfortune is due to "excitement," or to "exhaustion," or to the "knock-down answer"—"die niederschmetternde Antwort"—made by the Emperor, indignantly scorning the message bidding him go home![6] Was there not, many years later, a Sarmatian who at sight of a Roman Emperor "pectore toto procubuit exanimis stratus"?[7] The Bur has fallen for the same reason, though he strikes the ground with a different part of his person.

Fall no doubt the rider did. Neither is his expression "roguish,"[8] but one of some surprise and disgust. But the English critic refuses to admit the fungus. The Scene comes in the wrong place, far too early for the message just before

[1] Dio, LXVIII, 8, 1–2.
[2] Scenes VIII and X.
[3] Mrs Strong, *Roman Art*, p. 175.
[4] Davies, p. 84.
[5] Cichorius on Scene IX.
[6] Von Domaszewski, *Phil.* p. 326.
[7] Amm. Marc. XVII, 12, 9: cited by Petersen from Fröhner.
[8] A German suggestion which infuriates Cichorius.

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the battle. The army has not even started. Here is but a messenger or scout, a friendly native, not a German Bur, but a Dacian, entering in hot haste to tell the Roman that the enemy has fallen back and that Arcidava, the Dacian fortress which lay upon his route, has been evacuated already. And the round object is but a shield, whereof the artist has omitted to depict the fastening. It was a "comic scene," which delighted the troops. The news delighted Trajan. But the fungus episode finds no place upon the Column.[1]

A few Scenes later, and there is shown a barbarian standing behind his mule. He peers from behind a tree down upon the legionaries as they hew their way through the forest. This, cries the German expositor,[2] is the Bur again, now in more comfortable pose, and here once more is his mule (whose ears are now erect). His unkindly critic is contemptuous.[3] "The apparently harmless peasant tending his sumpter mule is a spy," and not the mushroom-unencumbered Bur come to tell his tribesmen's grief at the rejection of their warning. If he be a spy, the Romans leave him undisturbed, and of his fate the artist tells no more.

By such means the story of the Dacian Wars is protracted through many a long page. But this delay at the beginning of the narrative is not pointless. For Trajan's progress itself was slow and his advance too cautious perhaps. Arcidava on its hill above the Apus was found empty, to the Emperor's evident surprise.[4] The army marched on northwards, its scouts reporting the way clear. Garrisons were left at selected spots to guard the line of communications. Bersovia in its turn was found evacuated, and here the first Dacian prisoner was brought into camp.[5] Then first, "the unopposed advance through the silent woods begins to seem altogether canny. From this point on, the Romans find the measure of the situation, and the cavalry gallop confidently forward beneath the walls of Tibiscum."[6]

[1] Davies, p. 84. So L-H. (p. 117): "Kein Pilz," "why not a sieve or a big cheese?" he asks scornfully. He does not explain the round object, and thinks the fungus itself in Dio's story may be a textual error. The man is a harmless peasant, surprised by Trajan's coming into a tumble. It is a "genre," a "burlesque" scene.

[2] Cichorius on Scene XV. [3] Petersen, I, p. 22. [4] Scene XIV.

[5] Scenes XVII, XVIII. [6] Davies, p. 83; Scene XXI.

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Only one battle is mentioned in the literary record of this campaign, and only one battle is depicted on the Column. The sculptor has enjoyed his subject. In this, the battle of Tapae, at the western entrance to the Iron Gate Pass, once again a god appears upon the Column.[1] Jupiter Tonans hurls his thunderbolts against the fleeing foe. Evidently a thunderstorm raged while the battle was being fought.[2] Soldiers come hastening to their Emperor, carrying severed barbarian heads in their hands. "He shrinks horrified back at sight of the faces, whose grim wildness in the rigidity of death has a Medusa-like effect."[3] It is the expositor rather than Trajan whom the artist has petrified. The Dacian survivors retreat behind their fortifications, on whose stakes are grinning skulls, and behind the rude ramparts are the Dragon standards of the north. "Bleaching skulls of Roman dead and waving standards show that they are resolute yet upon resistance."[3] The artist of the Column is chary of depicting Roman dead. No Dacian victory is ever shown. Nor can a Roman be identified by his skull.

Yet there was stubborn fighting at Tapae and many a Roman fell. Again the artist has missed his opportunity and fails to show Trajan tearing bandages from his tunic. Then the campaign proceeds. A Dacian village is burnt. Trajan harangues his men, perhaps when they salute him as Imperator after the battle.[4] There come to him envoys, friendly or hostile. The non-combatants flee from their homes before the Imperial Light Horse. Their domestic animals, the oxen and the sheep, lie slaughtered on the ground. Though time has not been given to drive them away in safety, they shall never be left alive as spoil for the hated Roman.[5] Old men, children, warriors, none will willingly submit to the invader. The defence is stubborn and makes good. There is no storming or assault of any city shown here upon the Column. Tapae has been indecisive. No one has called it a Roman victory. The Iron Gate Pass is

[1] Scene XXIV.
[2] Petersen and L-H. (p. 94) cavil at this likely suggestion by Cichorius.
[3] Von Domaszewski, *Phil.* p. 328. L-H. (p. 83) dissents.
[4] Scene XXVII. Petersen, p. 29, doubts the salutation. But "Imp. II" belongs to the year Dec. 101–102 (*C.I.L.* x, 6928) and may be due to this campaign.
[5] Cichorius on Scene XXIX.

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not forced this year and Sarmizegetusa lies still inviolate beyond the crest.

Winter came on apace, and Trajan withdrew, his work unfinished. Some spoils he had won. Upon the bank of the Danube he is shown ordering aboard ship for deportation to Italy a captive Dacian woman, "princess or priestess" as may be. Other women and their little ones wave her their sorrowful farewell. It was in the next year, according to the chronicler, that the Roman general Maximus captured Decebalus' own sister. If she is the heroine of this "scene" upon the Column, the written record has erred by a year.[1]

In spite of Jupiter's intervention, the battle of Tapae did not end the war. Trajan returned to winter quarters, probably at Drobetae. He is not likely to have quitted the Danube bank for the greater comfort of either Sirmium or Siscia.[2] Rather he had now grimly set his hand to the work, and there should be no looking back. Dacia should not for ever be guarded by the rushing Danube. A permanent bridge should be built where the river issued from the ravine of the Iron Gates and flowed more gently over a broader bed of gravel hard by Drobetae. Trajan stayed here to superintend the beginnings of the great engineering feat.

§ 4. *The bridge over the Danube.*

Trajan built a stone bridge over the Ister, and I cannot find fitting terms in which worthily to express my admiration of it. There are indeed other most splendid works of his, but the bridge surpasses all the rest. There are 20 piers of squared stone. The height is 150 feet, apart from that of the foundations, and the breadth is 60 feet. The piers are 170 feet distant one from another, and are connected by arches. How then can one do anything but stand amazed at thought of the expenditure lavished on these, at the manner in which each was set in the deep river, in eddying water, in marshy ground? For it was not possible to divert the river from its channel....

Thus Trajan's greatness of conception is shown. Not that the

[1] Davies, p. 95, on Scene XXX. That the river is the Maros is Von Domaszewski's wildly improbable suggestion. Cf. Petersen, pp. 30–34. The artistic L-H. (p. 95) thinks of Niobids in this scene.

[2] Siscia, according to Cichorius, accepted by Stuart Jones, p. 457. But the amphitheatre of Scene XXXIII is not decisive.

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bridge is any longer in use. But its piers are still standing, though there is no way across, as if they had been built for this one reason only, to prove that there is no feat which man cannot achieve.

For Trajan feared lest, if the Ister froze, war might fall upon the Romans beyond the river, and he made the bridge that reinforcements might pass over it to them.

But Hadrian on the contrary was fearful that the barbarians might force a passage over it through its defences and thereby have easy access into Moesia. Hence he destroyed the upper works of the bridge.[1]

Close to Orsova on the Danube is the gorge known as the Iron Gates through which the impetuous river rushes. Here along the southern bank Trajan in the year before the Dacian War began, A.D. 100, had hewn a solid road out of the living rock, replacing some kind of gallery which had hitherto given passage-way along the gorge, and his inscription still records the feat upon the spot.[2] Six miles below the last rapid, opposite the village of Turnu Severin, there are still to this day visible, at very low water, the foundations of sixteen out of the twenty piers of Trajan's bridge. Here the current is tranquil, the depth of the water, in dry seasons, some twenty feet, and the bed of the river gravel. The site was wisely chosen. For ice-floes in winter are dashed to pieces in the rapids up stream, and the piers were thus saved from their impact.

Though the piers were stone, the elaborate superstructure of the bridge-way itself was undoubtedly timber. The height of the piers may have been exaggerated by the enthusiastic chronicler, but he is not to be credited with a belief in stone arches of impossible span.[3] The picture of the completed work upon the Column makes this clear, and reveals also the achievement of the Roman engineer, the magnificence of the structure, and the genius of Trajan's architect, Apollodorus of Damascus, later the designer also of Trajan's Forum and its wonders.

[1] Dio, LXVIII, 13, 1–2, 5–6. As Hadrian retained Dacia the last is an improbable tale. Cf. my *Hadrian*, pp. 145–146.

[2] *C.I.L.* III, 1699 = Dessau 5863: "montibus excisis anconibus sublatis viam fecit." For the "ancones" cf. the *Aareschlucht* by Meiringen. But this explanation is doubtful.

[3] As by Duruy, *History of Rome*, Eng. trans. IV, 760, who gives an elaborate technical description of the bridge.

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Unlike Pheidias, Apollodorus, if he was also sculptor of the reliefs, has not placed his own likeness upon his own work.[1]

The Scene upon the Column marks the beginning of the second campaign of the Second Dacian War in the year A.D. 106.[2] But such a work as the bridge must have been long in building, and the ingenious German has discovered its beginnings in two arches depicted in a Scene upon the Column which belongs to the winter of the first year of the wars, A.D. 101.[3] If this view be sound, the Emperor directed the building of the bridge upon his return to the river after the first year's fighting. In this case, he had thus early determined to annex at least some portion of the hostile land north of the river. A pontoon bridge would serve for a campaign. A massive bridge of solid foundations must link Roman territory with Roman territory for long years yet to come, until, in a late writer's words, "the stream of Ister and the passage of time destroyed it."[4]

A fort guarded the bridge at either end, the one named Theodora at the northern, the other, Pontes, at the southern end. Justinian rebuilt Pontes, and doubtless "Theodora" cannot be the name which Trajan gave his fort. "And as for Theodora, it lay exposed to the barbarians, and Justinian paid no regard to it."[5] Dacia had then long since been abandoned by Rome.

§ 5. *The enemy's winter raid.*

While Trajan at Drobetae was superintending the beginning of the building of the bridge and making his plans for the campaign in the coming spring, there came strange and un-

[1] Procopius, *De Aedif.* IV, 5, 6. Procopius, historian of the Goths, was prefect of Constantinople in A.D. 562. Cichorius triumphantly discovers Apollodorus in Scene CI. Petersen is, as usual, scornful: "The figure is a lictor," p. 128. But L-H. (pp. 144–145) argues strongly that though all the reliefs on the Column are by one great "Master," this was *not* Apollodorus the architect.

[2] Scene XCIX.

[3] Petersen on Scene XXXIV, rejecting Cichorius' view that the arches show the junction of Save and Danube and Trajan's route from his winter quarters at Siscia.

[4] Procopius, *loc. cit.* Note that Hadrian has no hand here in the destruction.

[5] Procopius, *loc. cit.*

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welcome tidings to him. Two clouds of invasion had on a sudden in the depths of winter burst upon the province of Lower Moesia.

The main strength of the army of the Danube lay in cantonments strung out along the river from Viminacium to Oescus. The whole long line of frontier from Oescus to the Black Sea was but thinly garrisoned by detached and widely separated posts. Lower Moesia lay tranquil, expecting nothing less than hostile raids when Trajan himself was present in person in the upper province.

But the enemy, vigilant and enterprising, seized their opportunity. Both Dacians and Sarmatian Roxolani were adepts at swimming, men and horses alike. Apt though a frozen Danube always was for forays over the frontier, there was no need to wait for this. Decebalus' invitation to his neighbours found a ready response. His own Dacians he sent, both horse and foot, to swim the river, just below Oescus.[1] Simultaneously the intrepid cavaliers of the Roxolani, clad in chain mail, themselves and their ponies, and armed with huge lances, with conical helmets on their heads, burst upon the terrified peasants, possibly those of the Dobrudja.[2] The invaders carried fire and sword far and wide in the Roman province and even the Roman forts themselves were hard beset.[3]

Happy it was for his Romans that it had never been Trajan's delight to return to the joys of Rome leaving war or frontier-work unfinished behind him. Like Domitian before him, like Hadrian after him, Trajan in military matters was seized of that discontent with incompleteness which is one attribute of man's composite and uncertain nature. A few years earlier the very tidings of his accession had failed to lure the new Emperor to Italy before his then work upon the Danube frontier was set in order. So now, the tidings of the raids found him already on the river, prompt to strike. No mere governor with inadequate forces had the task of retaliation upon the rash invaders of Moesia.

A cavalry force despatched against the Roxolani scattered

[1] *If* Nicopolis ad Istrum commemorates this. See below.

[2] *If* the Tropaeum Traiani at Adamklissi commemorates this. See chapter XI, Note F.

[3] Scenes XXXI, XXXII.

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and dispersed them. Trajan himself voyaged down stream and landed at Novae or at Oescus.[1] The Dacian marauders were returning comfortably homewards, their wagons heaped high with booty. On a night when they slept all unheeding beside the carts, the Romans fell upon them. Then came a desperate battle, the picture of which upon the Column is more full of spirit than that of Tapae itself earlier. The Roman artillery is shown at work, and the medical corps tends the wounded. The enemy are routed.[2] Trajan delivers another "adlocutio" to his victorious troops, and distributes military rewards among them. Then once more he is seen on the Danube bank, about to take ship, and receiving a Dacian embassy.[3] The raid is over, and the Emperor returns to Drobetae.[4]

There exists no single line in any literary record to tell us the history of this winter raid. The story is spelt out from the Column alone. Two later "monuments" however of Trajan's reign are brought into connection both with this fighting in Moesia and with that which befell, on a greater scale, in the first year of the Second Dacian War, A.D. 105. They may commemorate either, or, not improbably, both.

A few miles south-east of Novae Trajan presently founded a city to which he gave the significant name of Nicopolis, the City of Victory, evidently upon the field of some Roman triumph. It is the modern Nikup, near Tirnova. One late writer declares that the city commemorates a victory over Dacians.[5] In another it is the Sarmatians over whose defeat it triumphs.[6] Its situation supports the former view.

For it is at Adamklissi in the distant Dobrudja that "Trajan's Trophy" was erected "by the Army of Moesia" in the year A.D. 109, the second memorial of victory, and its circular core of earth remains to this day.[7] Originally the Trophy was decorated with rudely sculptured plaques, fifty-four in number,

[1] Scene XXXV. Petersen, pp. 40, 44, 49, prefers Novae; Von Domaszewski, *Phil.* p. 330 and *Gesch.* p. 174, of course selects Oescus. Cichorius on Scene XLVI takes Trajan up the Aluta and places the battle in the Wallachian plain. There is no sense in this.

[2] Scenes XXXVI–XLI.

[3] Scenes XLII–XLIV.

[4] Scene XLVI.

[5] Amm. Marc. XXXI, 5, 15.

[6] Jordanes, *De Goth. orig.* 18. Cf. Petersen, p. 94.

[7] *C.I.L.* III, 12647. For a discussion of this see chapter XI, Note F.

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of which forty-nine, in whole or part, remain today to adorn the museum of Bukarest and to provoke the liveliest of controversies. The figures carved upon them are childish in execution, rude beyond conception, "without one redeeming touch of invention or idealism."[1] Here are soldiers, infantry, cavalry, barbarians, carts, animals, prisoners, scenes of stabbing and of fighting. Above the panels was a continuous band of "battlements," on each of which was a single figure of a captured barbarian, the best preserved of these weather-worn sculptures, some as grotesque as the Sheldonian "Caesars" themselves. The whole work, which even in its present state of ruin is well-nigh sixty feet in height and over eighty in diameter, was crowned with a huge "trophy" of arms, with a statue group at its base. Admittedly the whole is the work of the common soldier. Such an one might delineate the scenes and persons of his war no less rudely in the Age of Trajan than in that of Augustus, and it is fanciful to argue from the style of the remains that such work befits rather the army of a Crassus than that of a Trajan.[2] However rough the decorations, Trajan's Trophy was once an imposing structure and visible for many miles over the dreary Dobrudja levels "like St Peter's over the Campagna."[3] Erected 200 yards away from the Altar which Domitian here built, forty odd years earlier, to commemorate Fuscus and his slaughtered army,[4] the "Tropaeum Traiani" was a vindication of Rome's revenge as well as a memorial of some victory or victories in the later wars with Dacia. Its dedication to "Mars the Avenger" reveals Trajan's purpose and his soldiers' pride.[5]

Half an hour's walk from and to the south-west of Trophy and of Altar are the remains of a small Roman town, which took its name from the former. Doubtless they were scarred veterans of the Dacian Wars whom Trajan first settled in the Municipium Tropaeum or Tropaeensium Civitas.[6] Perhaps it was these veterans, the Traianenses Tropaeenses, who amused

[1] P. Gardner, *J.R.S.* VII, p. 23. Cf. Tocilesco, p. 146.
[2] Cf. chapter XI, Note F. [3] Tocilesco.
[4] See above, chapter VII, § 2. [5] For this view cf. chapter XI, Note F.
[6] *C.I.L.* III, 12470 (=A.D. 115–116). Later inscriptions of the town are Dessau 9118, A.D. 170 (cf. Von Premerstein, *ap. Klio*, 1912, p. 148); Dessau 8501, of same date; Dessau 7183, of unknown date.

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their leisured hours by carving the sculptures in commemoration of their deeds. For two centuries the little town lived its lonely life and farmed its fields without excursions and alarms. Then, at the end of the third century of our era, the Goths fell upon it and destroyed it. Constantine rebuilt it between A.D. 315–317, and with its "felicitous" refashioning "ad confirmandam limitis tutelam" it too passes out of history.[1]

The Roman soldier had good reason to triumph over the defeat of his barbarian enemy. Among the Scenes of this first winter's fighting the master artist of the Column has carved the most grim of war memorials. Here is the hapless fate of those Romans who fell alive into the hands of the savages. It has been noted[2] that, when presently peace came, the Dacian king bound himself to surrender deserters and the interned engineers, but not one word is said concerning the release of any prisoner of war. The gloomy inference is drawn that there were none of these alive in Dacian hands. If this be an extreme and an unlikely view, at least some had met the most horrible of dooms. On this Scene upon the Column are Dacian women setting flaming torches to the head or the body of naked pinioned captives. The five women, by no means viragos or elderly hags, and not uncomely, exult with lively glee upon their faces. This is a counterpart to that heroism in the Dacian warrior which we are invited to admire. At least it *is* the battle for civilisation which Trajan is fighting. In due course the Romans expelled the natives *en masse*, men, women, and children alike, from their homes, and drove them out for ever into those remote northern wilds which were the fit resorts for savages. Not otherwise did the English settlers of America deal with the Indian brave whose fiendish cruelties earned for him the like retaliation.[3]

[1] *C.I.L.* III, 13734. Cf. picture in Tocilesco, p. 107.

[2] By Cichorius, who aptly cites Florus, I, 38, 7, in illustration of this, Scene XLV.

[3] L-H. (p. 117) has been the first to question the fact of the torture. It is "mere war-propaganda by the civilised combatant, such as we have lately known [*i.e.* the ghastly *Kadaver* story of the Great War]. So the scene contrasts with that of the well-ordered Roman internment-camp for Dacian prisoners just before (Scene XLIII)." This is clever, but not convincing.

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§ 6. *The campaign of* A.D. 102.

Now when Trajan sought to climb the very heights, seizing, with peril, ridge after ridge, and so drew near to the royal palace of the Dacians; and when Lusius, attacking on the other side, slew many and took more alive; then Decebalus, sending as ambassadors the noblest of the Pileati to make supplication of the Emperor through these, promised readily to do everything ordered him; especially since Maximus at the same time had captured his sister and a certain stronghold. Not indeed that he intended to abide by his promises, but that he might have breathing-space from his present ills.[1]

For the construction of the history and the strategy of the second campaign of the First Dacian War something has been added to this meagre passage in the chronicler. The sharp eye of the brilliant German expositor[2] has discovered almost to a certainty upon the Column two places on the Roman line of march, the one near the outset, the other near the finish, of the journey. In one Scene[3] Trajan rides over a bridge which crosses a river by means of a rocky island in mid-stream. This island has been found at Robesti in the Aluta valley, the Pons vetus of the Roman road. In a later Scene[4] are troopers at a fountain, when the fighting is over and the Dacian king is about to offer his submission to the conqueror. This fountain is the "Bath" of hot mineral springs at Kis Kalan in the Strell valley, a short distance N.N.E. of Sarmizegetusa, the Aquae of the Roman road from that city to Apulum. This is a "quite convincing" identification according to the English scholar who visited the place some twelve years ago.[5] And this same scholar it is who has found the Dacian stronghold, which is stormed in a previous Scene,[6] in the fortress of the Muncel Cetate in the Mühlbach Mountains, on which site a great find of some 500 Roman silver denarii by a forester in the middle of last century yielded 69 coins of Titus, 109 of Domitian, 15 of Nerva, but of

[1] Dio, LXVIII, 9. [2] Cichorius.

[3] Scene LVIII. This identification if accepted puts out of court at once Von Domaszewski's elaborate scheme for the campaign from Oescus (of course) via the Keys of Teregova to Tapae again (*Phil.* pp. 334–337). His identifications however leave him with ten Scenes, LXVI–LXXV, to cover a bare mile of country, and his whole scheme is most unattractive.

[4] Scene LXXIV. [5] Davies, pp. 95–96. [6] Scene LXXI.

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Trajan 2 only, and neither of these bearing his title "Dacicus."[1] Was this the pay-chest of the Roman engineers who built the stronghold to guard the Dacian capital from access on the east? Or the military chest of some regiment of the army which stormed the fort in A.D. 102, left behind in some forgetfulness or exigency of the advance hence upon the royal city?

With these two identifications to help us, this year's campaign may now be reconstructed. When spring came, Trajan struck a second time at Dacia. But the Iron Gate Pass upon the west had proved impregnable. He resolved to essay the great southern gate, the Red Tower Pass up the Aluta valley.[2] Possibly he sent a force to watch the western exit. But, if so, it is hard to find this detachment upon the Column.

For the new campaign the Emperor summoned to join him the First, Minervia, legion from Pannonia, under command of his own kinsman Hadrian, then a young officer twenty-six years of age.[3] There were other better known and more experienced soldiers upon the Imperial Staff. Lusius Quietus "the Moor," "himself ruler of the Moors," from the remotest parts of independent Libya, had been prefect of the Ala Maurorum under Domitian, but had by that Emperor been "condemned for wickedness and removed from his command in disgrace." On the outbreak of the Dacian War he hastened to offer his services to the new Emperor, and was at once accepted. At the head of his valuable Moorish Light Horse he did splendid service both in Dacia, and, many years later, in the far East.[4] Lucius Licinius Sura is counted as Trajan's chief of staff, and served through both Dacian Wars. He was a loyal friend to his Emperor and received high military honours for his services, as well as a public statue upon the Coelian Hill at Rome.[5] Trajan in more peaceful days employed him to

[1] Davies, *Top.* p. 18. L-H. seems quite unaware of both identifications.

[2] Petersen's preference (pp. 69–70) for the Vulkan Pass is inexplicable.

[3] Its emblem, the ram, is the only legionary signum to be identified with certainty upon the Column (Scene XLVIII). Cf. Dessau 2656 and *C.I.L.* III, 550 = Dessau 308.

[4] Lusius Quietus: cf. Dio, LXVIII, 32, 4–5; Themistius, *Or.* XVI, p. 250. For his fate under Hadrian see my *Hadrian*, pp. 42–43, 47–48. He and his troop figure in Scene LXIV on the Column (but L-H. (p. 88) refuses to find Quietus himself).

[5] Dessau 1022. Cichorius discovers Sura in Scene LXI.

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compose his Imperial speeches, a task for which the soldier Prince had little taste. He died before his Emperor.[1] Ten years earlier, upon his recovery from a serious illness, the poet Martial had hastened to congratulate him:

> Vive velut rapto fugitivaque gaudia carpe:
> Perdiderit nullum vita reversa diem.[2]

Sura's fugitive joys had a warlike flavour.

Tiberius Claudius Livianus, prefect of the Praetorian Guards;[3] Manius Laberius Maximus, consul and soldier of repute;[4] Q. Glitius Atilius Agricola of Turin, governor of Pannonia, later consul and prefect of the city;[5] L. Minicius Natalis, who had seen service in Africa and was later to govern Pannonia in his turn;[6] Pliny's friend Q. Pompeius Falco, who rejoiced in thirteen names, commanded the fifth, "Macedonica," legion, and in his lifetime governed Britain and four other provinces besides;[7] all these accompanied Trajan to Dacia. Nor perhaps should the names of lesser men, preserved to us as they are by mere caprice of fortune, trusty tribunes or centurions of line regiments, or commanders of auxiliary cavalry, be forgotten: Tiberius Claudius Vitalis, who in his life of forty-one years was promoted successively six times from one legion to another, and twice was decorated by the Emperor for deeds in the Dacian Wars;[8] L. Aemilius Paternus, similarly honoured twice in Dacia and once in Parthia, centurion at one time or another of five legions and two cohorts of the Guards;[9] Sextus Pilonius Modestus, who served in five legions, drew centurion's pay for nineteen years, and found a soldier's grave in far-off Sarmizegetusa aged but thirty-seven;[10] P. Besius Sabinus, prefect of the Ala Dardanorum, with names as many as the seven offices he in his lifetime held;[11] P. Prifernius Apollinaris, prefect of the Ala I Asturum[12], and his kinsman Aulus Pomponius Prifernius Paetus, tribune later of the tenth legion—Fretensis—honoured in a Greek inscription at Argos;[13] Q. Raecius Rufus, a veteran

[1] See my *Hadrian*, p. 32. [2] VII, 47. [3] Dio, LXVIII, 9.
[4] Cf. my *Hadrian*, pp. 41–42. [5] Dessau 1021 *a*.
[6] Dessau 1029. [7] Dessau 1035, 1036.
[8] Dessau 2656. [9] Dessau 2661. [10] Dessau 2654.
[11] Dessau 1352. [12] Dessau 1350. [13] Dessau 8863.

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centurion of Vespasian's Jewish War, who again won military awards at Trajan's hands more than thirty years later;[1] C. Statius Celsus, a veteran, twice decorated "by reason of the triumphs of the Dacian War";[2] C. Arrius Clemens, trooper of the ninth Praetorian Cohort, similarly so honoured by Trajan, as by Hadrian later, centurion of many legions, and in his old age chief magistrate of a tiny Umbrian town;[3] C. Manlius Felix, chief officer of engineers to Trajan, before he took to naval service and commanded the "Pannonian and German Fleet";[4] such men were the backbone of Trajan's army in Dacia. And to the record of honours might we not add the one brief broken record of a soldier's pride and a father's loss, found in a monastery at Bajna, near Buda-Pesth?

And to the eternal rest of Aurelius Satullinus, soldier of the First Adjutrix Legion, who lived 24 years, had six years' service, and fell in a raid by the enemy from Dacia; and to Aurelius Satullus, who lived 14 years: Aurelius Acutus, soldier of the First Adjutrix Legion, their father, set this up to his dear sons.[5]

From its base at Drobetae the army crossed the Wallachian plain to the Upper Schyl river at Bambesti, whence it marched due east to Burridava on the Aluta,[6] the present Rimnik. Turning northwards up this river valley, it presently arrived at the island of Robesti, the Pons vetus of the Peutinger Table,[7] and, crossing the river here, so reached the entrance of the Red Tower Pass. Envoys from Decebalus had before this point been sent to Trajan, but being the "long-haired" men of minor rank, the "Comati," these had been brushed contemptuously aside by the Emperor. Now, on the Aluta, a second embassy arrived in the Roman camp, consisting of "bonnetted Highlanders," "Pileati," chieftains of the highest rank. To these Trajan paid greater heed, and even sent Sura and Livianus to accompany them and bear his mandate to the Dacian king.[8] Meanwhile the army threw up strong entrenchments, and flying columns swept the hills on either side of the

[1] Dessau 2647. [2] Dessau 2665. [3] Dessau 2081.
[4] Dessau 1419; cf. de la Berge, p. 43.
[5] Dessau 2308. [6] Scenes XLIX–LI. [7] Scene LVIII.
[8] Dio, LXVIII, 9, 1–2. Scenes LX–LXI.

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pass clear of the enemy, storming small Dacian blockhouses, and driving their garrisons in flight over the hills.[1] Presently the staff officers returned. Decebalus had refused after all to see them. The army resumed its march, and passed through the gorge of the Aluta. To the west stretched a wild country of hill and valley beyond which, a hundred miles away, lay the city, the object once again of their enterprise. At Cedonia, Hermannstadt, on the small Cibin river, to north of the Red Tower Pass, Trajan wheeled his whole army sharply to the left and struck out in a bee-line over the hills westwards. "He climbed the very heights, scaling ridge after ridge"[2] of the Mühlbach Mountains, his Moorish cavalry under Quietus scouring the hills in advance of the main column.[3]

There was hard fighting on hill-side and in forest. Now Dacian abatis of felled tree trunks must be carried: now wild rushes must be stemmed by volleys of missiles or hand to hand encounter.[4] But the Romans pushed on steadily westwards until at last there lay before them the hostile frowning fortress of the "Muncel," or Muncel Cetate. Built high above the Varosviz river, it was a massive walled rectangle, 1250 paces in circuit, strengthened perhaps by Domitian's engineers. Its huge walls remain, in ruins, to this day. In it the Dacians made a desperate stand. But the Roman "testudo" carried the defences.[5] The fortress fell. In it were found stored the relics of Fuscus' army. Trajan's men swept forwards. A foray by Laberius Maximus on the flank of the advance captured Decebalus' own sister, a prize that helped to determine the issue of the campaign.[6] But the Dacians would try yet one more fall with the invaders. At or near Kozstesd in the defile of the Varosviz river there befell the last battle of the war. Into it Trajan flung the whole of his army. Dacian axe and scimitar

[1] Scene LXII. These forts are to Von Domaszewski, *Phil.* pp. 335, 336, the tombs of Roman soldiers on the last year's battlefield of Tapae!

[2] Dio, LXVIII, 9, 4.

[3] In this scheme I follow Davies, and not Cichorius, who takes Trajan by the long circuit of the Maros Valley to Kis Kalan, Davies' view is far the best. L-H. leaves all such questions alone.

[4] Scenes LXV–LXX.

[5] Scene LXXI.

[6] Dio, LXVIII, 9, 4; cf. *supra*, p. 258. Not on the Column, if the capture of the princess befell at this point.

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were no match for the legionaries' pikes.[1] On the battlefield of a notable, if unnamed, victory, the Emperor tendered his thanks to his exultant troops.[2] The Dacian resistance was broken at last.

In the valley of the small river Strell, not far from its inflow into the Maros, there lies today a small summer watering-place, the "Wells" or "Bath" of Kalan Furdö. These same warm mineral springs have been placed by the Roman artist upon the Column,[3] a scene of peace, simply it may be to remind men of "Aquae," possibly with an aesthetic sense of fitness, to show the ease and the refreshment of the thirsty troopers now that the fighting at last is done.[4] Modern commentators also linger here and delight us with unintended humour. Here are the men drinking or carrying away the water in a vessel. But the horse stands majestically and takes no heed of the spring. How should the horse take notice, the German asks.[5] Is not the flavour of the water mineral? His unsparing critic is solemnly contemptuous of this. If the horse is not drinking, he urges, this does not show that it has not already had its drink. Would the trooper have brought his steed unless to water it?[6] How vain it were to urge on such *Sachkritik* that the trooper could not have left it behind, nor would an army horse be permitted to drink at the same place as its rider! "Astonishing arabesques of interpretation."[7] The Romans have reached Aquae, and Sarmizegetusa is but just over the hill.

Then the Dacian king himself came into the Roman camp, and Trajan, surrounded by a brilliant staff, received him. "Coming to Trajan," writes the chronicler, "and falling upon the ground, he did homage, casting away his weapons."[8] In a great final Scene the Column shows the monarch prostrate. But it also shows him standing, a tall and stately figure among his kneeling chieftains.[9] "Dacia crushed and prostrate before the victor is yet to be Dacia resurgent, only for the

[1] Scene LXXII, identified by Cichorius with Piski at the mouth of the Strell.
[2] Scene LXXIII.
[3] Scene LXXIV.
[4] As Davies, unexpectedly romantic.
[5] Cichorius.
[6] Petersen, p. 81.
[7] Davies.
[8] Dio, LXVIII, 9, 6.
[9] Scene LXXV, here treated as one Scene (after Davies). "The most beautiful of all the reliefs and the *only* one whose *historischer Kern* is clear" (L-H. p. 62). Only the standing figure, not also the prostrate one, is Decebalus, L-H. declares, and surely with good artistic sense. Davies is too far-fetched.

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moment acquiescent in defeat."[1] Such a romantic symbolism befits the Englishman rather than the Roman. But in very truth Decebalus still had war in his heart.

So Sarmizegetusa surrendered. Troy has fallen and the artist of the Column bethinks him of Polygnotus' fresco of the fall of Troy. "Plötzlich die Iliupersis des Polygnot vor die Seele trat."[2] Such soulful inspiration swept our greatest modern English historian of Rome off his feet.[3] "A highly fanciful theory," coldly comments a later scholar.[4] Let us then rather recall another picture of triumph. The long line of upright standards in the Scene of Decebalus' submission express the "glory of conquest"; sound the "note of triumph" such as that "imparted by the crowded upright lances in the 'Surrender of Breda.'"[5]

We may at last escape to consider more prosaically the actual terms of peace.

> Decebalus reluctantly agreed [the chronicler writes] to surrender his weapons and engines of war and engineers, and to give up the deserters; to destroy the fortifications and evacuate the captured territory; to have the same friends and foes as the Romans; and neither to receive any deserter nor to use any soldier from the Roman Empire. (For he had been wont to attract thence by persuasion the greater number and the best of his men.)
>
> He also sent ambassadors to the Senate, that he might win the ratification of the peace also from it.
>
> So Trajan having made this agreement, and leaving the army in Sarmizegetusa, occupying moreover the rest of the land with garrisons, returned back to Italy.
>
> The ambassadors from Decebalus were brought into the Senate. Laying aside their weapons, they joined their hands together after the fashion of prisoners, and made prayers and supplication. So they concluded the peace and took back their weapons. But Trajan celebrated a Triumph and took the name Dacicus.[6]

A weary controversy rages round this passage and the scene on the Column where are Dacians sullenly pulling down their walls.[7] It seems likely that the Romans retained for themselves part of the Banat, and that the Dacian fortresses here were

[1] Davies. [2] Petersen, I, p. 84.
[3] Pelham seemed attracted by the notion. So L-H. finds innumerable Greek prototypes of many other scenes. This is very wearisome.
[4] Davies, p. 97. [5] Mrs Strong, *Roman Art*, p. 184.
[6] Dio, LXVIII, 9, 5–7; 10, 1–2. [7] Scene LXXVI; cf. above, p. 246.

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dismantled. It is also probable that the capital city itself admitted a Roman garrison under one Longinus,[1] which should stay there in occupation to see the terms of peace carried out, a device not unfamiliar to post-war Europe. It is unlikely that the walls of Sarmizegetusa itself were destroyed, or that Decebalus, now admitted Client-Prince of Rome upon the usual terms, was deprived of his ancient capital and forced to flee to the wilds of Hargitta Mountain, there to build himself another city. Sarmizegetusa remained the king's stronghold. The Dacian was "surrounded by powerful and hostile neighbours," and "Trajan was at this time clearly not inclined to proceed to extremities."[2]

But from some land at least, hitherto their own until captured by the invaders, the Dacians were expelled. The fugitives are shown, herdsmen driving cattle, sheep, and goats before them, an angry father dragging along a pouting resisting urchin, a mother carrying her baby, a little maiden in long-sleeved cloak stepping quietly by her mother's side.[3] But more ominous signs have been detected in this closing scene. Two shepherds remain in their sheds as the mournful procession of emigrants passes by, and in those sheds they intend to remain. Two natives snugly ensconced in an intact fort, look down upon their tribesmen beneath, as these pull down their walls. They "whisper slyly together," plotting evil against their conquerors. "The evacuation is only partially carried out." The terms of peace are violated.[4]

Trajan has failed to mark the stubborn temper of his defeated foe. Decebalus will yet try a main with Rome. But the Emperor delivers his final harangue, perhaps to the garrison left in Sarmizegetusa,[5] and returns to Rome in the autumn of A.D. 102 to celebrate his Triumph and assume the title "Dacicus" henceforward. The sculptor closes his story of the first war fitly with a beautiful and majestic figure, the Goddess of Victory, her shield encircled by a laurel wreath, set between the trophies of successful war.[6]

[1] See below, p. 275.
[2] I follow Davies, p. 88. So Petersen, II, p. 5. The other view, of Cichorius, leads to the wildest flights of topographical fancy.
[3] Scene LXXVI.
[4] Davies.
[5] Scene LXXVII.
[6] Scene LXXVIII.

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CHAPTER XI

THE CONQUEST AND THE ANNEXATION OF DACIA

§ 1 The renewal of hostilities by Decebalus, A.D. 105. [*Note* to § 1. Trajan's route to the bridge.] § 2 The conquest of Dacia, A.D. 106. [*Note* to § 2. Cichorius on the campaign of A.D. 106.] § 3 The settlement of Dacia. § 4 The policy of annexation and its results.

Additional Notes for Chapters X and XI. A. The literary evidence. B. The Peutinger Table. C. The Trajan Column. D. The modern writers. E. The chronology of the Dacian Wars. F. The "Trophy" and the "Altar" at Adamklissi.

§ 1. *The renewal of hostilities by Decebalus*, A.D. 105.

IN the year A.D. 112 there was found one day a man cowering for safety under the protection of Trajan's statue in the city of Nicomedia in Bithynia. This fugitive was one Callidromus, then in the employ of a firm of local bakers, Maximus and Dionysius by name. From these he had made a happy escape and now claimed sanctuary. Brought before the local magistrates, he told them a curious story. Once, he said, he had been slave to Laberius Maximus (one of Trajan's generals in the Dacian Wars). But he had been captured by Susagus in Moesia and so came into the disposal of King Decebalus. The Dacian king sent him as a present to Pacorus, king of Parthia, in whose service he had remained for several years, working as a miner in the gold-mines. Presently he had run from Parthia and so came to Nicomedia, where he had hired himself out to the bakers. They were "detaining" him, and so on this day he had taken refuge at Trajan's statue.

Pliny, the Emperor's commissioner extraordinary in Bithynia, was promptly informed of the incident by a friendly soldier, one of his own men then stationed in the city. He intervened at once and sent for the runaway. Callidromus repeated the same tale, showing to Pliny a small ingot of gold which he had brought with him from Parthia. He added that he had also had a gem on which was engraved the figure of Pacorus himself, clad in his royal robes. But the gem, he complained, had been stolen from him. The governor made search for the gem, but

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when after a short while it could not be found, he decided to wait no longer. He despatched Callidromus to Trajan in Italy, and with him the ingot, which he carefully stamped with the seal of his own ring. With this, Callidromus and his ingot pass out of history.[1]

It is supposed that Laberius Maximus, consul in A.D. 103, had been sent after his consulship by Trajan to govern one of the Moesias, and that here his slave had fallen into a Dacian's clutches. Of this Dacian, Susagus, or of how he came to be raiding or thieving in the Roman province, nothing is known. The main interest lies in the rest of the story. Decebalus had been in communication with Pacorus. Pacorus was now dead, and Chosroes reigned in his stead. Trajan's Parthian wars were about to break out. The fugitive from Parthia might have the most useful information to give the Emperor. Hitherto there had been no hint or suspicion that so many years earlier Rome's erstwhile foe Decebalus (the inference was quite obvious) had sought to enlist Parthia's sympathy against the Romans. Was it a project for a simultaneous attack on Danube and Euphrates? A Sertorius and a Mithradates again? An escaped miner would know nothing of such high policies. Clearly the Roman Emperor ten years or so before had also known nothing of the negotiations, if negotiations there had been. Decebalus might fret and intrigue, but Pacorus stayed quiet. It was not the Parthian's desire to provoke the Roman Emperor to war. Trajan could hardly use the incident to justify his onslaught upon Pacorus' successor. The interest of the incident shifts back to Dacia.

For the gift, or mission, to Parthia was but one of the secret preparations upon which Decebalus embarked in his fixed determination to renew, at a time of his own choosing, his desperate struggle with Rome. Arms were manufactured and fortifications rebuilt. Raids were made with success upon the Jazyges his neighbours. Spite of all the stipulations of the recent peace, deserters from the Empire found themselves welcomed at the Dacian court.[2] By the spring of A.D. 105 the king's preparations were complete. But before he could invade Moesia, he must dispose of the little Roman garrison at his

[1] Pliny, *Epist. ad Traian.* 74.

[2] Cf. Dio, LXVIII, 10, 3; 11, 1–3.

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palace gates. Its commander Longinus suspected something perhaps. He was at least issuing orders to the king. He could be tricked. So the chronicler tells his simple tale of Roman heroism, worthy of the annals of the English in a Delhi or Cawnpore.[1]

There was a certain Longinus, commander of a Roman garrison, who had done great deeds in the wars against him[2] [Decebalus]. The king persuaded Longinus to visit him, on pretext that he would do whatsoever might be commanded. So he seized him and examined him in public concerning Trajan's plans. But when Longinus refused to concede him aught, the king kept him under guard, albeit not in chains. And sending an embassage to Trajan he demanded to receive back the land as far as Ister and to be repaid all the monies which he had spent upon the war. This done, said he, he would send Longinus back.

Trajan sent him answer mildly, whereby he hoped to show that he set upon Longinus a value neither great nor small, planning thereby to save the man's life and yet avoid too high a price for the saving of it. Whereon Decebalus hesitated, considering what he best might do.

Now during this while Longinus had obtained poison from the freedman, and thereupon made promise to Decebalus to win him pardon at Trajan's hands, fearing lest the king should surmise what should befall and keep him the more straitly under ward for this. He also wrote letters, making supplication on the king's behalf; which letters he delivered to the freedman to bear to Trajan, that he might be in safety.

And so, when the man was gone, when that night fell, Longinus drank the poison and died.

When this had befallen, Decebalus demanded the freedman back from Trajan, promising to give him in return the body of Longinus and ten prisoners besides. And straightway he despatched to Trajan the centurion whom he had taken with Longinus, as a man who would secure him this. From whom the whole tale concerning Longinus became known.

But Trajan neither sent the centurion back nor surrendered up the freedman, deeming it better for the fair repute of Rome that the man should be saved rather than that Longinus should have burial.[3]

[1] Dio, LXVIII, 12, 1–5, who gives no date or place for the episode. My version seems at least a probable interpretation. The Column gives no help.

[2] Or "terrible among his enemies."

[3] Who Longinus was remains uncertain. Fronto mentions, without naming him, a "vir consularis" as "captus in Dacia" under Trajan at the time

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There is one other episode narrated by the chronicler which belongs to the first stage of the Second Dacian War.

Decebalus in the way of strength fared but poorly; but by craft and deceit he came not far short of slaying Trajan. For he sent certain deserters into Moesia, if by hap they might kill him, seeing that Trajan was at all times easy of approach, but at that time, under stress of war, he allowed any one who desired it to come to speech with him. But the men were not able to accomplish this deed. For one was seized on suspicion, and under torture he confessed the whole design.[1]

The whole of the remainder of the story of the first campaign in this war has to be deduced from the Column. Here, in some twenty Scenes,[2] are depicted certain facts in order. Trajan takes ship; lands; takes ship again and lands a second time; marches; sacrifices. The Dacians muster and make fierce onslaught on Roman forts. Trajan rides at full speed to the rescue. Then he reaches the stone bridge upon the Danube,[3] where he receives Dacian and other native envoys, these shown as "a superb group worthy of a Florentine Master of the stamp of Masaccio."[4] Then the Romans cross the bridge, and Trajan performs once more the "lustratio" of, and delivers the "adlocutio" to, the army.[5]

A second year's campaign, it so appears, has begun. The whole of the operations of the first year have lain in Roman territory south of the Danube. There is a further hint of this

of the war (*De Bello Parthico*, p. 217 Naber). A. Maius, editor of Fronto's works in 1815, says that this can hardly be any other than Longinus (vol. II, p. 321) and Naber agrees. The *Prosop. Imp. Rom.* (II, p. 298, No. 247) is doubtful. The latter calls him "legioni praepositus"—but στρατοπέδου Ῥωμαϊκοῦ ἐξηγούμενον seems more suitable here of a camp or garrison. The name Longinus is common, both in the Senatorial and the lower classes. It is interesting to find a Longinus at Drobetae (Dessau 7150*a*), at Constantza = Tomi (*ib.* 7185), and as decurion of the colony of Sarmizegetusa in Roman Dacia and in garrison at Apulum (*ib.* 7141). Yet most interesting perhaps is the "Aurelius Longinus paganus" whose is the inscription to Aurelius Victorinus "his grandson." For the dead man was "natione Daqus" and had his "home" at the "colony of Sarmizegetusa." (Dessau 2204). Did the tale of Longinus' heroism so linger on in the Dacian countryside that half a century or more afterwards a small Dacian boy may derive one of his two names from the Emperor, but the other from the soldier?

[1] Dio, LXVIII, 11, 3. [2] Scenes LXXIX–XCIX. [3] Scene XCIX.
[4] Mrs Strong, *Roman Art*, p. 193, on Scene C. "A study of racial types" (L-H. p. 62). [5] Scenes CI–CIV.

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in that the attempt to assassinate the Emperor finds him "in Moesia."

All that remains is to add names to the Scenes upon the Column. Rarely has difference of opinion been so marked as in this process. The starting point of Trajan's voyage is certain. This was Ancona on the Adriatic coast of Italy. The sea port on the Column shows both Trajan's Arch and the famous Temple of the Goddess Venus, the glory of the Roman town, which stood where now the Cathedral of San Ciriaco stands. The figure of the Goddess herself identifies her shrine and city.[1] The end of Trajan's journey is also certain, for Apollodorus' Danube bridge is unmistakable. Between the two points lie perplexity, controversy, uncertainty. Of the six contesting views concerning "Trajan's Voyage" the English is the most convincing and the least fanciful, and is presented briefly here.[2]

In the spring of A.D. 105 Decebalus, having captured or masked such Roman garrisons as were left in his land, dispatched his Dacians across the Danube into Moesia, there to ravage the country and beleaguer the Roman forts. The renewal of the struggle was provoked by the king, and Trajan had neither warning nor suspicion of its coming. When the news reached Rome, he hastened in person to the threatened province, leaving the city in the first week of June,[3] and arriving at the harbour of Ancona shortly afterwards. From Ancona, the very night of his arrival,[4] he crossed the Adriatic in an oared galley to Iader (Zara) on the opposite Dalmatian coast.[5] From Iader he marched by way of Asseria[6] to Burnum, in order perhaps to pick up here a legion quartered in this town since the close of the First Dacian War.[7] From Burnum he came down to the coast again at the harbour town of Salonae,[8] and there took

[1] Scene LXXIX. Cf. Juvenal, IV, 40.

[2] See note at end of this section.

[3] See Note E at end of chapter.

[4] Scene LXXIX. Dolphins show it is a sea not a river crossing. I suggest the reason for the night crossing is Trajan's speed, and not Cichorius' "favouring wind."

[5] Scene LXXX.

[6] Scene LXXXIII. The triumphal arch erected here in A.D. 113 (Stuart Jones, p. 450) may commemorate this visit. L-H. (p. 32) discovers a reminiscence of the Alimenta in this Scene!

[7] Legio I Adjutrix (Cichorius), Scene LXXXV.

[8] Scene LXXXVI.

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sailing ship to Lissus.[1] From Lissus he marched at head of his troops up country, making for Naissus in the Morava valley. Two towns on his route are clearly indicated. At Thermidava he was warmly greeted by folk quite obviously Dacians.[2] The eleven men and four children of the Scene represent those friendly Dacians whom at close of the First War he had settled in the town to make joint settlement with the existing inhabitants. A few miles farther on lay Ulpiana. Here were six altars erected in honour of the deified Caesars, whose worship should bind the semi-barbarian folk fast to their Imperial allegiance; and upon each of the altars in the town which bore his name Trajan performed due sacrifice. Into it he had perhaps but lately introduced "fresh settlers from beyond the Roman pale."[3] Many years later the townsfolk of Ulpiana worship Septimius Severus and Julia Domna with fervour.[4] Then Trajan marched from Ulpiana. Thereafter all is vague. Garrisons were relieved of their beleaguerment by the foe.[5] Trajan arrived at Pontes on the Danube, and the year's military operations came to an end.

NOTE TO § 1: *Trajan's Route to the Bridge.*

There are at least six rival views.[6] Three may be called "Long Voyage," and three "Short Voyage." Stuart Jones shows all six most clearly on his admirable map.

A. The "Long Voyage" views, viz: two "Black Sea," one "Aegean":

(1) Benndorf—Tocilesco (*Das Monument von Adamklissi*, pp. 117–124):

(Sea) Ancona—Corinth—Byzantium—Deultum—Tomi—so to the Dobrudja, whence to

(Land) Durostorum—Oescus—by road S. of Danube to Pontes.

(2) Von Domaszewski (*Phil.* pp. 338–342):

(Sea) Ancona—Corinth—Peiraeus—Deultum—so to

[1] Scene LXXXVII. [2] Scene XC (Stuart Jones, pp. 452–454).

[3] Scene XCI (Stuart Jones, p. 455). Cichorius, a little prone, as Petersen (II, p. 43) remarks, to find sensational events upon the Column, finds here altars on Tapae field again.

[4] *C.I.L.* III, 1685, 1686.

[5] Hardly in Lower Moesia, as Tocilesco (p. 125), interpreting the Adamklissi Trophy as belonging to this year.

[6] L-H. (p. 31) washes his hands of the whole fierce controversy.

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(Land) Marcianopolis—Nicopolis—Oescus—by new road N. of Danube to Pontes.

(3) Weber, pupil of Von Domaszewski (view adopted by D. in *Gesch.* II, p. 176):

(Sea) Ancona—Corinth—Peiraeus—Aenos—so to

(Land) Hadrianopolis—Nicopolis—Oescus—Pontes.

Objections to all the above are many. Ancona is *not* the natural port of sail for the Aegean. Peiraeus is *not* identifiable. The legionary camp in Scene LXXXV is *not* Corinth, where there was no legion. The Tropaeum Traiani need *not* bring Trajan to the Dobrudja in this year. Nicopolis *may* belong to it—but this does not imply a "Long Sea" route. Surely Trajan was in a hurry and would march by the short land route, etc. etc.

B. The "Short Voyage," i.e. "Adriatic" views:

(1) Petersen:

Ancona — Ariminum — Ravenna — Istrian coast — Siscia — Sirmium—Pontes. Improbable. There was no legion to be found in Italy. An oared galley does not of necessity have to keep close in shore. The Dacian fighting is not likely to have been between Save and Danube.

(2) Cichorius:

Ancona—Iader—Scardona—Aequum—Salonae—Sirmium—Danube—Tapae—Iron Gate Pass—Sarmizegetusa—Aluta valley—Drobetae—Pontes.

That beleaguered forts and fighting were in Dacia is most unlikely. Much is based on the untenable view that after the first war the Dacian capital is in Roman exclusive possession. Petersen's careful study proves that the great city in the Scenes of the last campaign is Sarmizegetusa (II, pp. 134–149. Cf. Stuart Jones, p. 447; Davies, *Top.* p. 8). The one outstanding merit of this wild scheme is the discovery of Salonae in Scene LXXXVI, which Stuart Jones accepts.

(3) Stuart Jones:

That given in my text.

§ 2. *The conquest of Dacia*, A.D. 106.

Rarely has the written record of the destruction of a people in Europe been more jejune than is the chronicler's story of Trajan's final conquest of Dacia in the extracts from it which have been preserved:

Trajan, having crossed Ister by the bridge, carried on the war cautiously rather than with vigour, and so, after long time and with

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difficulty, overcame the Dacians, himself doing many deeds of generalship and valour, and his soldiers also many, both perilous and courageous.

Thus a certain trooper, being sorely smitten, was carried out of battle as one who might be healed of his wound. But when he perceived that this was in very truth mortal, he hastened from his tent, his hurt not staying this, and, taking his place once again in the ranks, so died, a great ensample.

But Decebalus, when that now both his palace and the whole of his land had been taken and he himself was in danger of capture, slew himself, and his head was brought to Rome.

So Dacia became subject to the Romans, and Trajan settled cities in it.[1]

The last fifty Scenes upon the Column by their very number and their picturesque vigour show how protracted and stubborn the struggle proved.[2] Yet of certainty in name or place there is scarcely anything to be found in them. Trajan of course is there, but an older, more war-worn Trajan.[3] Decebalus is there, as tall and defiant as ever. There is a harvest scene, where the Romans cut the corn, so early in the series that July or August must have found the army still far from its ultimate triumph.[4] At the very outset there is clear proof of two Roman columns advancing, separated by a mountain ridge. With the upper column goes the commissariat train. The main strength of legionaries, with Oriental bowmen (Palmyrene archers doubtless) and German native auxiliaries, constitute the lower column.[5] The army is reunited again before the siege of the Dacian capital. But the actual routes of the two columns from Pontes to Sarmizegetusa cannot be determined. The German writers, who alone have treated of this last campaign, choose different routes at pleasure and with equal confidence.[6] But even Cichorius, the most famous of them all, cannot lure us away with him to an unknown city in the wilds of Hargitta

[1] Dio, LXVIII, 14, 1–3.

[2] Scenes CV–CLV. Cf. L-H. p. 114.

[3] Or the artist is different. But L-H. (pp. 111, 144) insists on the "*One* Master-Artist."

[4] Scene CX.

[5] Scene CVI; cf. CIX.

[6] Iron Gate and Vulkan Passes (Petersen). One Column from Pontes, one from Oescus (of course), which meet at Tapae (Von Domaszewski, *Phil.* pp. 342–343). L-H. (p. 75) is very doubtful about the theory of *two* columns.

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Mountain.[1] The Dacian city attacked is certainly Sarmizegetusa itself.[2] Perhaps the first assaults are so heavily repulsed that the Romans have to starve the garrison into surrender. When the city falls the soldiers are seen filling sacks.[3] If with booty, the number of the scenes suggest a weary time of investment.[4] "Why measure booty with bushels?" the dissentient critic asks plaintively. "The sacks are full of corn."[5] For there is many a long mile of marching still to come, and provision must be made. Here then we are to find no starving city nor any long weeks of waiting. The city was stormed, not starved out.

Rather than surrender, many Dacians drink poison. Sons are buried by their weeping fathers, themselves so soon to writhe in the agonies of death.[6] Others escape from the town to the hills, amongst them Decebalus himself.[7] Then the Romans force an entrance and Sarmizegetusa falls at last.

There is then for a time a certain anti-climax. The fall of the Dacian Pretoria does not end the war. Dacian resistance is prolonged possibly into the year A.D. 107,[8] and long guerrilla operations follow in the mountains. The Romans pushing forwards reach a river, almost certainly the Maros,[9] and in its valley, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Apulum, the enemy turn fiercely at bay. They in their turn assail a Roman garrison, and the invaders are hard put to it to bring succour to the besieged. To reach the fort they must cross the river. Their pontoon bridge is too short, and ends abruptly in mid-stream. Not to be baffled, they build canoes, and save the garrison. But the pontoon looks more like a landing-stage.[10]

Decebalus has watched gloomily the Dacians' last assault.[11] The end is very near. He bids his faithful few his last farewell.[12] Dacian resistance is broken at last. Some perish at their own hands or court death from their own friends.[13] Others come

[1] See note at end of section. [2] Scenes CXIII–CXXV. [3] Scene CXXIV.
[4] Cichorius, on Scenes CXVII, CXVIII. L-H. (p. 107) dissents.
[5] Petersen, p. 103.
[6] Cichorius, on Scenes CXIX–CXXI. "A last water-ration and *not* poison" (L-H. p. 115).
[7] Scenes CXXII, CXXIII. The king is not shown among the fugitives.
[8] See below, Note E. [9] Petersen, p. 109, Scene CXXXI.
[10] Scenes CXXXI–CXXXIII. Cf. L-H. p. 78. [11] Scene CXXXV.
[12] Scene CXXXIX. [13] Scene CXL.

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suppliant to Trajan bringing gifts, and here, curiously enough, the Emperor makes his last appearance on the Column.[1]

The king is left. The whole interest of the drama shifts from conqueror to royal fugitive. Roman cavalry gallop after him in hot pursuit amid the wild hills. They overtake him and his scanty escort and surround them. The escort is cut to pieces.[2] Ten troopers hurl themselves upon the king. Kneeling on the earth before the charging horse Decebalus, a proud desperate figure, plunges his scimitar into his neck and dies.[3] "Falls on his own sword," says a German, foolishly.[4]

Woe to the Royal House of Dacia! There are two boys, aged some twelve and fourteen summers. The Roman troopers have them in their grasp and hurry them, with unavailing gestures of farewell, past the dead king's body as it lies upon the ground. So, in this one single Scene,[5] the lads have their exits and their entrances upon history's stage. That farewell (so writes Petersen, the cold and petulant critic) "no sound eye can see." The dead body is not their father's but "merely that of their guardian, slain in the boys' defence."[6] Mentem mortalia tangunt—even the mind of such a critic.

Then the severed head of the king, "penalty of broken faith," is brought into the Roman camp and exhibited upon a shield to the curious legionaries. Here is the Imperial tent, discovered in the Scene. But Trajan himself tarries within it. In such a rude scene of gleeful vengeance his soul can take no joy.[7] Both Emperor and artist have no taste for horrors.[8]

The artist draws near to the end of his long story. He shows more Dacians captured and brought into camp. The pursuit stays not by day or night. The last fugitives, driven beyond the confines of their land, implore the mercy of the barbarians beyond the borders.[9] Fire consumes their place of refuge.

[1] Scene CXLI. Petersen and Cichorius think these are Dacian traitors. L-H. (p. 54) disagrees.
[2] Scenes CXLII–CXLIV.
[3] Scene CXLV. "Quite conventional" (L-H. p. 101)!
[4] Von Domaszewski, *Gesch.* II, p. 177.
[5] Scene CXLVI.
[6] Petersen, p. 118. L-H. (p. 53) is coldly sceptical.
[7] Scene CXLVII. So Cichorius. A badly defaced relief.
[8] L-H. pp. 89–90.
[9] Jazyges? Cichorius—yes; Petersen—no.

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Even from here the Roman leads them prisoners away. The victorious army marches homewards, its long toil done.[1]

One tiny Scene Cichorius' imagination makes instinct with poetry and pathos.[2] On this landscape alone no human figure intrudes. Wild animals of the Carpathians are seen beside a Highland tarn. A tusked boar drinks its waters; an antlered stag steps shyly down the opposite hillside towards it. In the foreground lies an ox sleeping. This is "deep stillness after war." Neither may any bear or other savage beast mar that quiet peace. The sounds of the chase after human prey have died away. Night broods over the lonely mere and rests upon the black forests of the high hills. The wild creatures which haunt them move quietly and rest unafraid. The remorseless critic makes merry with the "piquancy" of the interpretation. This is but part of a Scene, Petersen urges, and upon it man, alas! intrudes. Night indeed it is, for here is Night's Goddess herself. Therefore the domestic ox lies sleeping, but pig and deer are awake, sure sign again of that darkness wherein all the beasts of the forest do move. Behind a rude neatherd's hut lurk two scared fugitives, and beyond come Roman soldiery again with yet another hapless Dacian captive.[3] But in this contrast of the "peaceful life of the animal world" with the "tortures endured and inflicted by men"[4] we escape no whit the more from sentiment.

The last spiral tapers like a sword blade to the Column's summit, once crowned by the proud figure of Trajan triumphant. The Pope, with true ecclesiastic's zeal and lack of humour, set up a mild Saint Peter in the Emperor's stead.[5] Time has also dealt hardly with the final Scene.[6] In its defacement it is but with difficulty that we see the remnants of the Dacian folk departing into the distant wilderness. The Roman will make a solitude of Dacia before he brings in others to re-inhabit the waste and empty spaces. So the folk pass, the child riding on

[1] Scenes CXLVIII–CLIV.
[2] Cichorius on Scene CXLIX.
[3] Petersen on Scenes CXLIX–CL, p. 121. Even L-H. waxes romantic at the finish. "The Goddess is not Night but Dacia herself, mourning over a wasted land" (pp. 54 and 112–116).
[4] Mrs Strong, *Roman Art*, p. 205.
[5] Sixtus V in 1588.
[6] Scene CLV.

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its father's shoulder, the reluctant boy dragged along, as in an earlier scene, by the arm, the woman gazing back upon the home it is not hers to see again, the brutal soldiery hustling the emigrants ever onwards. In front of them pace slowly forwards the animals, ox, sheep, and, last figure of the Column, a goat, snatching at a bunch of grass. Then the band narrows upward to a stunted little tree. The sculptor's history of the Dacian Wars is over.

The chronicler will end his tale upon no such trivial scene. The eternal child in man must have his way at the last.

The treasures also of Decebalus were discovered, though they had been hidden in the bed of the Sargetias river which flows by the king's palace.

For Decebalus had made use of certain captives to turn the river aside from its course, and in its bed had placed much silver and much gold and all such other of his most precious goods as would take no hurt of water. Upon these he had stones heaped, and earth again on top of these, and so he brought the river back once more over the place. But robes and other things of like kind he laid in caves by means of these same prisoners. Then, when this was done, he slew the men, that they should tell nothing to any man.

Howbeit, a certain Bikilis, the king's companion, knew what had chanced, and, being taken captive, gave tidings of these things.[1]

This, cries the critic, is the tale told also of Alaric the Goth and his treasures buried with him in the riverbed of the Busento in southern Italy. Then too the captives who did the work were slain, and their secret remains undiscovered to this day.[2] This too is the tale told of Attila the Hun and the treasures buried with him, treasures undiscovered to this day, though no river comes into this story.[3] There is however an earlier such tale than these, lest it be held that Goth and Hun had learnt the story of Decebalus and held it apt for imitation. Did not Audoleon, king of Paeonians, divert the "Sargentias" river and hide his treasures in its bed, only for their betrayal by his friend to his conqueror, Lysimachus, Alexander's general and successor in the north? True, it is but a late Byzantine poetaster who tells the story; but did he not derive it from a writer a

[1] Dio, LXVIII, 14, 4–5.
[2] Jordanes, *Getica*, 158.
[3] *Ib.* 49.

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century before the days of Trajan?[1] This is all but a "Balkan or Carpathian saga," later carried to Italy by the Goths, and the fabulous waters of Sargetias itself are but counterpart to those of Xanadu

> Where Alph, the sacred river, ran
> Through caverns measureless to man
> Down to a sunless sea.[2]

Folklore? What good end does this unwarrantable scepticism serve? Surely the artist of the Column himself confirms the tale? There is a Scene after Sarmizegetusa's fall and the Dacian failure on the Maros in which are Romans who drive pack animals along, these laden, it seems, with vessels of price. What can these be but the late-discovered treasures of Decebalus?[3] The interpreter, incurably romantic, may find Bikilis among the three kneeling "traitor Dacians" who, in an earlier Scene, tell Trajan "news of the hidden hoard."[4] At least there is force in his plea that the name has a real rather than a fabulous sound about it. Dacian gold, Thracian gold, Gothic gold, Hunnish gold, Rhine gold—we may still be young enough to enjoy and to believe in them all.

NOTE TO § 2: *Cichorius on the Campaign of* A.D. 106.

Cichorius convinced himself that the elaborately fortified city of Scenes CXI–CXXVI of the Column, not hitherto depicted, was not Sarmizegetusa. This he has already found in Scene LXXV, and maintains that it remained always in Roman hands after the first war. Hence he has to find a "second royal city" somewhere. Searching the wildest parts of the Siebenbürgen for this he, with the aid of a friendly village doctor, appositely discovered it. His identifications are a miracle of ingenuity.

He sets out to find (1) the Sargetias; (2) caves; (3) ruins. The Sargetias must be a small river, as only such could have been diverted in a single night, and to spend more than one night upon the task must have given the secret away. The caves must be hard of access, as only such could hide the treasures safely. The ruins must be considerable, as the Scenes on the Column require this.

All is satisfactorily found on the plateau of Kömezö—the "stony

[1] Tzetzes, *Chil.* VI, 53, ? from Diodorus. [2] Davies, p. 97.
[3] Scene CXXXVIII. L-H. (p. 65) assents, but thinks the Scene antedated.
[4] Cichorius on Scene CXXX; Petersen (p. 105), and L-H. (p. 55), are scornful.

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field," under the rocks of Maltetö, on the western slopes of Hargitta Mountains. Here is a wee streamlet (altogether too wee, despite the chance of winter floods, the critic urges) which "one man could divert in half an hour" on guaranteed medical assurance, and its name is Vargyas, which, pronounced Vargjasch, is quite plainly reminiscent of Sargetias. Here are indubitable caves, the Almascher Caves, hard of discovery indeed, for they are entered by a single hole to which a steep mountain track alone leads. Here indeed are ruins —a veritable wilderness of scattered rocks and boulders. And the view from the plateau is superb. An approaching army would be visible miles away.

Upon this city then Trajan marched in two columns, himself by Red Tower Pass, the other from Sarmizegetusa; himself up the valley of the Upper Alt, the other up that of the Great Kokel, to the north of and parallel to the Alt. In the rich Burzenland to the south the corn is ripe in July. The garrison is starved out, but the king finds it easy to escape, despite the blockade, up the mountain which overhangs the plateau etc.

This construction by Cichorius is truly a masterpiece. But no one accepts it, inasmuch as Scene LXXV is *not* Sarmizegetusa, and Scenes CXI–CXXVI *are*. This Petersen in his elaborate study has convincingly proved (II, pp. 134–149; and so Stuart Jones, p. 447; Davies, *Top.* p. 8). Some justifiable fun is poked at the enthusiast Cichorius' combination of discoveries to find his "second royal city" where never city was or can have been.

§ 3. *The settlement of Dacia.*

In A.D. 106 Trajan annexed Dacia. Henceforward for more than a century and a half the land is one of the great "Imperial" provinces, with a legionary garrison and a Roman governor. Spasmodic outbreaks under Antoninus Pius and Commodus gave small cause for alarm. The annexation, pacification, and Romanisation of the new province were surprisingly effective.

Its actual boundaries remain uncertain and may never have been in fact delineated. The military occupation probably never reached anywhere near the frontiers of Decebalus' old kingdom. Instead of reaching from the Theiss to the Pruth, the Roman sphere seems to have been confined to the country between the Tibiscus and the Aluta, nor is there sign of any Roman occupation north of Porolissum (Mojgrad) where the north road abruptly stopped. Roman Dacia thus included parts only of

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Transylvania, Wallachia, and the Banat. An old writer reckons its circuit as a thousand miles, a figure both attacked and defended by modern calculations. The size of the province has been estimated at one-fifth that of France, and its population at one million inhabitants. Nothing could be more uncertain than this last. The same writer declares magniloquently that Trajan "removed infinite masses of men from every part of the Roman Empire to cultivate the lands and inhabit the cities of Dacia."[1] Roman colonists did in fact come into the land, and especially from the East, from Syria, Commagene, Palmyra, bringing their Gods with them.[2] "After a systematic extermination of the best of the natives Dacia became a land of intensive colonization, save in some districts which were left to the native tribes."[3] In fact the natives cannot have been wholly expelled, and there were among them those at least who showed their admiration for their conquerors by borrowing their very names.[4] No traces however of any indigenous native civilisation have survived the passage of years.

Sarmizegetusa became at once a Roman "colony," with the title "Ulpia Traiana." Other cities presently grew out of what at first may have been mere military or trading settlements. Increasing in population and strengthened by the arts of peace, they came to petition for the grant of municipal charters and to rank thereafter as "municipia" or pride themselves on the more honourable title of "coloniae," acquiring in some few cases the "Jus Italicum."[5] Such were the cities of Tsierna (Orsova) on the Danube, Apulum (Karlsburg) on the Maros, Napoca (Koloswár) and Porolissum (Mojgrad) to the north. Roads linked city with city, from Viminacium to Tibiscum (Temesvar), Tsierna to Tibiscum, Tibiscum to Apulum, Drobetae to Apulum, Apulum to Porolissum.[6] Doubtless the Roman engineer followed ways long since familiar to the natives themselves.

The salt mines and the gold mines of Transylvania were worked, as at Potaissa, Ampelum (Zalatna) and elsewhere, and

[1] Eutropius, VIII, 2.
[2] *C.I.L.* III, Suppl. 7728; de la Berge, p. 59.
[3] Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, p. 229.
[4] Dessau 2204. See above, p. 276.
[5] Cf. *Dig.* XV, 1, 1, 8–9.
[6] See Note B at end for the stations on these roads.

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miners were brought into the country from Dalmatia.[1] "An opulent bourgeoisie soon grew up in the many prosperous cities," such as the Aelii Marcelli of Apulum, and "business men on a large scale farmed the salt-mines, pasture-lands, and customs-duties."[2] Apulum presently became the chief garrison town and headquarters of the single legion, the XIII gemina,[3] which was found enough for many years to keep the country quiet when to it were added numerous small auxiliary detachments distributed through the land.[4] In the third century a second legion, v Macedonica, was moved up to Potaissa from Troesmis on the Danube. For Apulum the Romans built an aqueduct. The customary "Provincial Diet" is found in the second century meeting at Aquae, in the third century at Sarmizegetusa, which also was the centre for the Imperial cult of Caesar-worship, with its "priest" and its "altar" of the province.

Many "Dacians" were recruited for military service and are found serving in Roman legions, in the Praetorian Guards and in the Imperial Bodyguard in Rome. Special "Dacian" auxiliary regiments were also levied.[5] In accordance with the rule established by the Flavian Emperor after the mutiny on the Rhine in A.D. 70 these were not allowed to serve in the homeland but are found alike in Britain and in the East.[6]

The annexation of Dacia carried with it some reorganisation of the Danube frontier and its legionary camps. Since the great salient of the new province protected the river from Viminacium to the mouth of the Aluta, Ratiaria and Oescus ceased to be camps and became civil settlements, "coloniae." A third such "colony" was established at the stone bridge. From the Aluta to the Black Sea the legionary camps of Novae, Durostorum, and Troesmis were strengthened. But the line of wall in the Dobrudja, one of three, from Rassova to Tomi, though still "Trajan's Wall" in popular language, may be rather Domitian's work.[7]

[1] de la Berge, p. 61.
[2] Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* pp. 555–556.
[3] Dessau 2042, 2764, etc.
[4] Cf. the long list in Cheesman, *Roman Auxilia*, pp. 171 sq. Dessau 2004 (A.D. 110).
[5] At least one Ala and six Cohortes.
[6] *Dix. Epig. sub voc.* "Dacia"; Cheesman, *op. cit.* p. 178.
[7] Tocilesco, *Das Monument von Adamklissi*, p. 2.

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West of Viminacium, the strip of Pannonia bordering the Danube from Brigetio (O-Szöny, opposite Komorn) to Singidunum (Belgrade) was formed by Trajan into a separate province as Pannonia Inferior, with a governor of its own. A legion was stationed at Brigetio and another at a new camp established at Acumincum (Szlankamen), opposite the junction of the Theiss and the Danube. These measures were a sufficient safeguard against the Jazyges, who, even after the annexation of Dacia, retained their independence.[1]

§ 4. *The policy of annexation and its results.*

We are now far past the days when territorial aggrandisement could be regarded as in itself essentially good or essentially wrong.

If the latter view was based on supposed rights of the people subjugated, it can never have been popular in the Roman Empire. No Roman Emperor would plead the good of the conquered as his justification for conquest. If this resulted, as was not seldom the case, this was *per accidens*.

The good desired was that of Rome herself. Did such result from Trajan's conquest of Dacia?

Popular no doubt this conquest was. It meant triumphs, games, magnificent monuments. It proved Rome's strength, the undying valour of her troops. Pessimists like Tacitus sighed after the glorious days, the wars, the victories, the valour, of the Republic. They anticipated the State's decrepitude, postulated its decline in vigour, were full of gloomy lamentations. Trajan's wars and conquests gave such the lie. How great a source of strength such proof of courage and vitality yet abiding may be to a great and puissant nation we in our own generation have had new reason to know. The achievements of the present vie with any of the past. Rome does not decay.

In the train of war there come evils to a great Empire which has won the victory—financial stress, taxation, poverty, ill will, class hatred, social upheaval. There is no trace of any of such

[1] N. Feliciani's article on Dacia in Ruggiero's *Diz. Epig.* pp. 1440–1458 may be consulted for Roman Dacia in particular.

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results to Rome from Trajan's conquests in Dacia or even in the East. Men were slain and women mourned. Children went fatherless, brotherless. New recruits came from the conquered folk to reinforce the armies of their conquerors. No new military burden was imposed upon the homeland during or after the wars. A sheepfarmer in the bleak Falkland Islands recked as little of the Boer War as did an Italian of the grim struggle beyond the Danube. There was one test and one test only to be applied to Trajan's policy of conquest and annexation, the test of Rome's security. By this test that policy stands justified in Dacia.

The new province was a gigantic rampart of the Empire on the north, thrust out like a huge bastion into the heart of the unknown savagery of central Europe. For a century and a half it kept Rome's enemies at bay as the river had never done. Strategically such a salient might seem to invite attack on any or all of its three sides, and then how few and how precarious might not the communications across the broad and dangerous Danube prove to be! In actual fact, barbarian hordes had not the wit to seize such opportunity. If later such storms should break on and over the barrier reef, there was so much longer notice of the peril to the southern lands, and time to guard the crossings of the river. The line of the Meuse may be broken. The warning has been given, and the last desperate stand upon the Marne may yet save the liberties of Europe.

Criticism of Dacia's conquest is apt to take rather the contrary shape. Not the annexation, but its incompleteness, is blamed. To the west of Roman Dacia the great stretch of the Hungarian plain between Danube and Temes remained independent, enclosed by a Roman re-entering frontier five hundred miles in length. It would have been easy for Trajan's engineers to build a Roman vallum over the hundred miles of level ground from Buda-Pesth eastwards to the Theiss. Some traces of earthwork and wall do exist along this line. Nothing in those traces shows Roman work. Nor was such vallum necessary. The horsemen of the plain in the salient of the Jazyges were kept out by the rivers as surely as by any guarded wall. Or should they threaten any part of the Roman land on either side, it would not be difficult for the Roman pincers to close upon them. And in fact

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the Jazyges were of little menace to Rome. It was not in this salient that the tribes mustered which fifty years later called Marcus Aurelius to his desperate wars upon the northern frontier. It was on Raetia and on Noricum that the tempest broke, and the assailants were once more the German folk. The years passed by. New clouds of barbarian war gathered and broke, but again upon the upper, not upon the middle, Danube, and not on Dacia beyond it. The peril lay in Bavaria, Bohemia, Saxony. To avert this, could any Roman Emperor have sent the Roman eagles storming forward with never a halt until they reached the Baltic? Again the years passed by. Out of the wild east the tribes came moving, Goths, Vandals, Huns. Could any Roman Emperor, had he even seen reason to apprehend the peril, have thrust the Roman line forward to the Vistula or thrown up huge entrenchments from Cracow to the Waag? Even a Trajan lacked the man-power for this. Nor could he peer so far into the deep obscurity of the distant future.

Roman Dacia did its work. "On the Danube the Sarmatian advance was arrested."[1] Roman Dacia preserved peace on the middle Danube for many a long year, guarding in their happy prosperity those rich lands south of the river which before its annexation had been so often troubled. Then, in the latter part of the third century, its end too came. The civil population was withdrawn in A.D. 256. Aurelian recalled the military garrison sixteen years later, in A.D. 272.[2] The fugitives took shelter south of the Danube, in "New Dacia," lying between the two provinces of Moesia. This was Dacia Felix, Dacia the blest, whence men looked northwards to that unhappy land beyond the river, Roman no more, nor ever again to own the government of Rome.[3]

Did the whole Roman population flee across the Danube? The pride of a strong historic nation of modern Europe denies it. Some at least of the Romans, it is urged, must have taken refuge in the fastnesses of the Carpathians and looked down

[1] Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks*, p. 118.

[2] Eutropius, IX, 5; Sext. Rufus, *De Vict.* 8; Orosius, IV, 21; Vopiscus, *Aurel.* 39.

[3] Eckhel, VII, 481. "Not old Dacia" (Feliciani).

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thence upon the migrant hordes roaming ever westwards over the deserted plains under the mountain barrier. These Dacian plains were no doubt the "boulevard habituel" to the west for Goths, Huns, Avars, Gepids, Magyars, Tartars. But the Romans for generation after generation clung to the hills "where, sheltered from the storm, they could worship in peace the gods of the ancient atrium and recall in melancholy wise their Roman origin."[1] Even so did James More in "Catriona":

> Our manner of life is very much alone, but we solace ourselves with the melancholy tunes of our native mountains and by walking upon the margin of the sea that lies next to Scotland.

It was not enough that the Roman remains in Dacia should yet stand "to impress, to fascinate, to attract the minds of the barbarians."[2] Still there must linger in the hills men to preserve, in name, legend, and language, the "Latin Continuity" which, long centuries afterwards, should speed Roumanians across the Theiss to avenge the wrongs of Rome upon the savage Magyar intruders, and link Roumanians in affection, alliance, and royal kinship, with Italy.

> From one extremity of the country to the other, in every corner of the land, one finds in legends, in dances, even in beliefs, profound traces of this Latinity which Roumanians cherish so dearly. Even today, after well nigh 2000 years, in the countryside where education is still rudimentary, where tradition constitutes almost the only learning, the peasant in his splendid tales of fancy speaks of Trajan and his exploits.
>
> Trajan's memory is everywhere; his routes are in all the plains of the land. The great trenches, the vallums, which traverse the country, are "Trajan's ditches"; the ruins which the picks of our soldiers bring to the light of day are "châteaux of Trajan and his legionaries." And at night, when the thousands of stars shine in the far-off infinite chaos, our Roumanian peasants, who still hold the ancient belief that the sun journeys round the earth, show their children the Milky Way in the starry vault, and call it "Trajan's Path."
>
> What more can I say of the strange instinct of the people for its Latinity?[1]

[1] Madame Vaschide.
[2] Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, I, I, p. 75.

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The sceptic might remark that for this Roumanian belief in Latin Continuity there exists no scrap of real historical evidence. Yet it remains true that "the reverberations and repercussions" of Trajan's conquest and annexation of Dacia have so lasted to our own day that they have affected the history of our own times and influenced the lives of many of our own generation.[1]

ADDITIONAL NOTES *for* CHAPTERS X *and* XI

(*Trajan and Dacia*)

A. The literary evidence.
B. The Peutinger Table.
C. The Trajan Column.
D. The modern writers.
E. The chronology of the Dacian Wars.
F. The "Trophy" and the "Altar" at Adamklissi.

NOTE A.

The literary evidence.

(1) Trajan's "Dacica":

One fragment only remains. See above, p. 252.

(2) Pliny:

(*a*) *Epist. ad Traian.* 74. See above, p. 273.

(*b*) *Epist.* VIII, 4: an allusion to a lost poem on the Dacian Wars by Pliny's friend Caninius Rufus of Como, written in Greek. Here as elsewhere Pliny lavishes effusive compliments on the poet for his genius. The difficulty of "barbara et fera nomina, inprimis regis ipsius" for Greek versification is great; but where a Homer succeeded how should a Caninius fail? The letter does *not* prove the "canalisation" of the Danube for bridging purposes, despite Cichorius on Scene CI of the Column. Nor does it add anything new to our

[1] The problem of the origin of the Roumanians seems insoluble. The scanty ancient authorities are Vopiscus, *Aurel.* 39; Eutropius, IX, 15; Sext. Ruf. *Brev.* 7. There are useful notes upon it in Gibbon (ed. Bury, I, pp. 294–295); Bury's Introduction to Gibbon, p. lxv; de la Berge, *Trajan*, pp. 67–70. Of patriotic Roumanian writers may be cited N. P. Comnène, *La Terre Roumaine à travers les âges* (Paris, 1919), and Madame Victoria Vaschide, *Histoire de la conquête romaine de la Dacie et des Corps d'Armée qui y ont pris part* (Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes Études: fasc. 142; Paris, 1903), from whose peroration I have selected the quotation in the text. "She can lay no claim to independence" is Von Domaszewski's fair criticism, and her map, scored through and through with innumerable "vallums," is quite worthless. But her fervid patriotism must extort respect.

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other information. Probably the epic, like Caninius' other works, is not a great loss. It is not the "tam fabulosa materia" which Dacia was to supply to the poet of which we stand in need. Much time and ingenuity have been ill spent on this letter.

(3) Dio Cassius:

Book LXVIII, 8–10 (First War); 10–14 (Second War).

These are excerpts from the third-century chronicler selected by Xiphilinus, monk of Constantinople towards the end of the eleventh century. There are fragments also concerning Trajan given by two Byzantines of the sixth century, Petrus Patricius (*F.H.G.* IV, 185) and John of Antioch (*F.H.G.* IV, 580–581). Zonaras, a Byzantine of the twelfth century, also gives an epitome of Dio (XI, 21, 22), which may be independent of Xiphilinus, but Boissevain doubts this. All these fragments are arranged and put together by Boissevain in his great edition. But their chronological order is matter of some uncertainty.

Dio's own account may have been derived mainly from Appian, the 23rd of whose 24 books on Roman History was entitled Δακική, and written about A.D. 160. This is lost. Trajan's own physician, Criton, accompanied him to the Dacian Wars (Lyd. *de mag.* II, 28; Martial, XI, 60), and wrote a Getica (Suidas) of which a few fragments remain (*F.H.G.* IV, 373–374). This too may have been known to Dio.

In the excerpts we have the only consecutive account of the Dacian Wars, and without them no history of these could be attempted, utterly meagre, inadequate, and "episodic" as they are. Chronology, strategy, topography, all are lacking. It is noteworthy that Trajan's difficulties are emphasised, and the account, while it does justice to the Emperor's character, is not mere blind panegyric. Pliny would have found it distasteful had he lived to read it, and would have preferred Caninius. If it had any merits, it ought not to be judged by the excerpts which the monk selected.

The most deplorable loss is that of Trajan's "Commentary," but that of Appian is at least regrettable. Ammianus Marcellinus (born *c.* A.D. 332) wrote a history, in 31 or 32 books, of the period from Nerva to the death of Valens (A.D. 96–378). But his first 13 books are lost and book 14 begins with A.D. 353. Tacitus should have written on Trajan, but then he would not have been Tacitus.

(Cf. L. Cantarelli, *Le Fonti per la storia dell' imperatore Traiano*, Rome, 1895.)

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NOTE B.

The Peutinger Table.

Conrad Peutinger of Augsburg (A.D. 1465–1547) first published a curious and invaluable map of the roads of the Roman Empire, which map had been discovered by a contemporary, Conrad Celtes. The original is supposed to have been of the third century[1] and was copied by a monk at Colmar in 1265. The pious monk added to it a few scriptural names, with a very particular glorification of Jerusalem. One of its recent editors, Dr Konrad Miller (in 1888), ascribes the original to a certain Castorius, of date A.D. 366. But his title, Die Weltkarte des Castorius, has not come into general use.

The supreme value of the "Peutinger Table" resides in its names and its numbers. On all its many roads the stations are named and the distances between them are given in Roman miles. The stations are distinguished according to their size and importance, and roads are shown joining at various places. The whole is arranged in sections of length. No attempt is made to draw to scale or according to "compass" direction. It was of unique device, until modern motor "maps" recalled the tendency.

For Roman Dacia it gives the following routes, names, and distances (Segm. VII, 2 to VIII, 3):

Viminacium to Tibiscum:

Viminacium X Lederata XII Apo fl[umen] XII Arcidava XII Centum Putea XII Bersovia XII Azizis III [? XII] Caput Bubali X Tibisco.

Tsierna by Sarmizegetusa and Apulum to Porolissum:

Tierna XI Ad Mediam XIIII Pretorium IX Ad Pannonios IX Gaganis XI Masclianis XIIII Tivisco XIIII Agnaviae VIII Ponte Augusti XV Sarmizegetusa XIIII Ad Aquas XIII Petris VIIII Germihera VIIII Blandiana VIII Apulum XII Brucla XII Salinis XII Patavissa XXIIII Napoca XVI Optatiana XV Largiana XVII Cersie IIII Porolisso.

Drobetae to Apulum:

Drobetae XXXVI Amutria XXXV Pelendova XX Castris Novis LXX Romula XIII Acidava XXIIII Rusidava XIIII Ponte Aluti XIII Burridava XII Castra Traiana VIIII Arutela XV Pretorio VIIII Ponte vetere XLIIII Stenarum XII Cedonie XXIIII Acidava XV Apulum.

[1] It (like the Antonine Itinerary and Ravennate Cosmography) was derived from a great coloured (?) road map of the whole Roman Empire executed by orders of the Emperor Caracalla. Cf. F. Cumont, *Fragment de Bouclier portant une liste d'étapes*, Revue Syria, 1925, p. 15.

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NOTE C.

The Trajan Column.

Trajan's Column is called a "columna cochlis," from its winding stairs like a shell's spiral. The outside reliefs wind round and round the outside of it in a band over 200 yards in length and about a yard broad. It broadens towards the top for reasons of perspective. The reliefs decorate 23 spirals and were originally gilded and coloured. The total number of figures upon them amounts to some 2500.[1]

Of necessity these figures are out of all proportion to the landscapes in which they are set. Rivers, seas, mountains, forests, bridges, buildings, are all dwarfed microscopically in comparison with the men, women, and children, to which they form a background. The boats, like that of the Apostles on the Sea of Tiberias in Raphael's fresco, could certainly never have carried the huge figures which they contain: yet they themselves cross a river or a sea with the prow on one shore and the stern on the other. A crinkled line serves as a Carpathian Mountain ridge, a wavy line an inch or two broad as the Adriatic Sea. Such inevitable conventions assist rather than impede the interest of the human activities depicted. Chief among all the figures are the two protagonists, Trajan and Decebalus. But besides these are Roman generals, legionaries, troopers, barbarian German allies or Sarmatian foemen, Dacian warriors, Dacian women, the children of the Dacian village, the Roman boy acolytes at an Imperial sacrifice, the very animals themselves of farm and forest. All these are chiselled with a care and a power unrivalled, until challenged and surpassed by the Florentine workers in marble and bronze at the Renaissance.

It is clear that more than one artist may have been employed.[2] The difference in the Trajan of the Second War from him of the First has suggested this. Moreover there is the immensity of the work. A Michael Angelo takes five years to paint the roof of the Sistine Chapel with its 300 figures. The Dacian Wars ended in A.D. 106. The inscription at base of the Column is of date A.D. 113. Many hands surely must have carved the 2500 figures in the six or seven years allowed. Yet there are few but elicit admiration, despite time's weathering, neither is there any trace of any scamping of the work or inferiority of execution in the upper reliefs when these rise beyond the sight of the observer in the piazza beneath. How in fact the majority of the reliefs could be seen in any detail at all by the Romans

[1] As many as 212 of these are engaged in building operations (L.-H. p. 39 and Vol. I, plates A–K).

[2] But cf. L.-H., p. 280 *supra*.

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remains a mystery.[1] Raphael and his friends studied the upper spirals from the roofs of the buildings which had then encroached upon the forum. Despairing suggestions of "the mechanical contrivance of a movable gallery" or of "disseminated copies of the original designs, which latter were deposited in the State archives" do not help us much. Perhaps, as time passed by, the Romans took the column and its reliefs for granted, and few wanted to earn a stiff neck by gazing heavenwards. Trajan's own soldiers may have had to rest content with the knowledge that the many incidents of their long wars *were* worthily portrayed here, however little they could see of them. At least on top there shone the glittering figure of their Emperor, resplendent in the sun of Rome, and no dull, drab, lifeless statue of a patron Saint. Plaster cast, photograph, Cichorius and Lehmann-Hartleben have come to the aid of those field glasses with help of which "the modern may make out a great deal," as Mrs Strong reassures him.

The former incredulity concerning the historical value of the reliefs has now vanished away. All agree to find at least some history in them. All agree that they attempt to present the history of both Dacian Wars in chronological order. The greatest of the expositors, Cichorius, divided the whole spiral into 155 Scenes, "Bilder," of which number 78 marked the division between the two wars. For reference purposes his enumeration is always followed, though there may be a few cases where he has made one Scene out of two (e.g. LXXV ?) or two or more out of one (e.g. LXXXIII–LXXXV, CXLIX–CL). Usually a conventional tree or a difference of level shows clearly the artist's own intention to separate his pictures where these occur. At times there is no such indication, and some doubt and confusion result. There is "no sanctity" in Cichorius', at times "arbitrary," divisions (Davies, *Top.* p. 9, note). "Subdivision is perilous and often misleading" (Stuart Jones, p. 437). But in the main it is felt right to accept Cichorius' schema, even by Petersen, his most "incisive critic" (Stuart Jones). His interpretations and identifications, on the other hand, are hotly contested, sometimes wisely, or, not seldom, petulantly. And his critics fight with equal vigour among themselves. Only the Stone Bridge (XCIX) and Ancona (LXXIX) rise triumphantly above the angry tide of words, with the truth of their identity unchallenged and unchallengeable. Then the students of ancient art add their considerable mite to the "wearisome prolixity" of the historical critics. One goes so far as to compare "our Trajan column to the Parthenon frieze" (Mrs Strong, p. 206). The Oxford Professor remarks coldly, "they offer no parallel" (P. Gardner, *J.R.S.* VII,

[1] "The reader would have had to go round and round it like a circus-horse" (L–H. p. 2).

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1917, p. 21). Yet even the Professor will grudgingly concede that "Greek poetry is not quite sacrificed; Danube reclines among his waters, Night appears grasping an ample veil, Victory writes on a shield" (*ib.*). But why "Greek"? And the vast enthusiasm of Cichorius presents us with the picture on the Column of a scene of natural beauty which might have drawn its inspiration from Wordsworth himself (CXLIX: see above, p. 283). He who goes from the description to the actual relief may experience some mild surprise, if not disillusionment, like "Punch's" picture of the Victorian Colonel before the Elgin Marbles.

Von Domaszewski, to my mind the least valuable of the expositors, has gone so far as to suggest that the actual reliefs upon the Column were an afterthought, and executed later by Hadrian's orders, with intent to glorify himself and his own legion, Prima Minervia, for the part they took in the wars (*Phil.* p. 343). As Hadrian is identified upon the reliefs always with some uncertainty, and his legion once only, in the Second War, this flight of German imagination is certainly unattractive.[1] Trajan is beyond all cavil the hero of the whole.

"Trajan is present everywhere, decides everything, orders everything and sees his orders carried out; takes every kind of toil upon himself, and then in the hour of victory becomes the centre of all homage....All accessory interest shrinks before the interest in him everywhere; wherever war is going on we want to know what he is doing; and in every fresh event we are dissatisfied till we have found out his striking person." (Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, p. 112—quoted in Mrs Strong, p. 209).[2]

So that an Imperial tent without an Emperor, at least outside of it, leads to conclusions of a remarkable character concerning the nobility of Trajan's nature and, incidentally, of an unlikely lack of sympathy with his troops (Cichorius on Scene CXLVII; see above, p. 282).

NOTE D.

The modern writers.

(1) Cichorius, Conrad.

Die Reliefs der Traiansäule. (*a*) Erster Tafelband (Berlin, 1896); (*b*) Zweiter Tafelband (Berlin, 1900); (*c*) Zweiter Textband (Berlin, 1896); (*d*) Dritter Textband (Berlin, 1900). Other projected volumes (Introduction and Commentary) do not seem to have appeared.

[1] L–H. (p. 4, note 7) rejects this suggestion decisively. Coins show it to be impossible, he urges.

[2] But always it is Trajan "the soldier," not Trajan "the hero" (L–H. (p. 152).

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A very wonderful bit of work, with 115 plates, 781 pages of text, and 2 maps: the very foundation of all study of the subject. Criticised "Scene" by "Scene" by

(2) Petersen, Eugen.

Trajans Dakische Kriege nach dem Säulenrelief erzählt: *I Der erste Krieg* (Leipzig, 1899, pp. 95); *II Der zweite Krieg* (Leipzig, 1903, pp. 152).

A valuable, if somewhat captious and unmerciful, criticism of Cichorius, with rather niggardly praise. The excursus in II on Sarmizegetusa makes good his contention, but at wearisome length. In his constructive sections Petersen is in his turn open to damaging criticism. No longer to be regarded as oracular.

(3) Von Domaszewski, A.

(*a*) "Die Dakerkriege Traians auf den Reliefs der Säule": *ap. Philologus* (1906): pp. 321–344. (Beiträge zur Kaisergeschichte.) And in summary statement—

(*b*) *Geschichte der röm. Kaiser*, II, pp. 173–176 (Leipzig, 1909). Cocksure and independent, if often wild and flighty, views.

(4) Stuart Jones, H.

"The historical interpretation of the reliefs of Trajan's Column": *ap. Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. V, No. 7 (London, 1910), pp. 435–459.

Deals with the campaigns of A.D. 101 and 105. A very valuable criticism and summary, with map, and makes fresh suggestions, which are in part incorporated in the same writer's *Roman Empire* (London, 1908), pp. 159–163.

(5) Davies, G. A. T.

(*a*) "Trajan's First Dacian War": *ap. Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. VII, 1917, Part I (published in 1919), pp. 74–97.

(*b*) "Topography and the Trajan Column": *ap. Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. X, 1920 (published in 1922), pp. 1–28.

The second paper was written first, but, owing to mischances of war, was published later. (*b*) mainly concerns the campaign of A.D. 102; (*a*) deals with that of 101, but includes a discussion on the "Fall of Sarmizegetusa" controversy and some introductory pages on the campaign of A.D. 102. The whole is badly arranged. But the writer, like Cichorius, knew the land by his own travels, and his suggestions are both novel and most convincing. His premature death is a sore loss to us.

There is no doubt that, always excepting Cichorius, the English have the advantage over the German writers in freshness and point.

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(6) Strong, (Mrs) E.

Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine (London, 1907): chapters VII, VIII (pp. 166–214). "The Column of Trajan."

A useful summary of Cichorius' "Scenes" in order; but follows Petersen blindly, and is fervid in tone.

Of other writers, de la Berge, C., *Essai sur le règne de Trajan* (Paris, 1877), chapter III, pp. 29–70, is now antiquated, but, as always, thorough and interesting; Schiller, H., *Geschichte der röm. Kaiserzeit* (I, ii, Gotha, 1883), pp. 543–554, uses Cichorius' views; Bury, J. B., *Student's Roman Empire* (London, 1893), pp. 421–430, has an inadequate map. The two latter are just summaries.[1]

The five writers of primary importance, those first cited in this Note, deal with the campaigns (in order) as follows:

Year	Cichorius	Petersen	Domaszewski	Stuart Jones	Davies
A.D. 101 and winter	II 1–222	I 14–53	(*a*) 324–332	439–444	(*a*) 78–89 (*b*) 5
A.D. 102	II 223–372	I 53–93	(*a*) 332–337	—	(*a*) 74–78; 89–97 (*b*) 8–28
A.D. 105	III 1–153	II 1–127	(*a*) 337–343 (*b*) 176–177	444–459	(*b*) 6
A.D. 106	III 153–409	II 128–152	—	—	—

NOTE E.

The chronology of the Dacian Wars.

(Cf. Mommsen, *Zur Lebensgeschichte des jüngeren Plinius* (1869) *ap. Ges. Schr.* IV, pp. 462–463.)

The First War.

The column divides this clearly into two campaigns (Scenes I–XXX and XLVII–LXXVII) with the interlude (Scenes XXXI–XLVI) of the "winter's raid." In XXX Trajan is back on the Danube. In XLVIII is the crossing of the river again. In LXXVIII is the "Victory" Trophy.

The Acta Arvalium prove the first year A.D. 101. On Jan. 1, 101, Trajan is cos. IV. On March 25, 101, the Brotherhood offer elaborate prayers to as many as six Gods and six Goddesses "pro salute et itu et reditu et victoria" of Trajan—that they may keep him in health,

[1] For the most recent (and elaborate) monograph upon the Column, that of K. Lehmann-Hartleben (Berlin, 1926) see note, page 307. It is not "of primary importance" for the historical interpretation.

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bring him back safe and victorious, preserve him in his travels on land and water, and restore him as soon as possible to Rome. (Henzen, pp. cxl–cxliii; Dessau 5035.)

Trajan's salutations as Imperator are dated as follows:

Imp. I: with Nerva, in A.D. 97.

Imp. II: "Trib. pot. VI," i.e. between Dec. 10, 101 and Dec. 9, 102 (*C.I.L.* X, 6928).

Imp. III: (no evidence).

Imp. IV: "Trib. pot. VI, cos. IV, cos. design. V"; i.e. second half A.D. 102 (on a coin—Eckhel, 6, 415).

Coins also give Trajan the title "Dacicus" when cos. IV, and Mommsen thinks them genuine, though Alexandrian coins dated between Aug. 29, 102—Aug. 28, 103 omit the title. Mommsen is doubtful about the genuineness of these last.

On Jan. 1, 103, Trajan is cos. V, with Laberius Maximus cos. II as colleague. On Jan. 13, 103, Q. Glitius Agricola takes Trajan's place as cos. II (Dessau 2001). Both these served in the Dacian Wars. The inference is that they and Trajan are back in Rome by Jan. 103, and that the first war is over by the end of 102.

The Second War.

The Column also, though not so certainly, seems to divide this into two campaigns by Trajan's "adlocutio" and "lustratio exercitus" in Scenes CIII, CIV. The Bridge shows the crossing of the river at the outset of the second campaign (Scenes XCIX–CI).

The Acta Arvalium for June 5, 105 (or a day or two earlier), show Trajan's departure from Rome. The Brotherhood offer prayers "pro itu et reditu" (Henzen, p. cxlvii). Hence the invasion of Moesia on the Column befel in the preceding spring, and "Trajan's Voyage" in June.

Two salutations of Trajan as Imperator, viz. V and VI, seem to belong to the Second Dacian War:

(1) The Alcantara bridge over the Tagus in its inscription calls him Trib. potes. VIII, Imp. V, cos. V (Dessau 287). Something here is wrong, as Trib. pot. VIII = Dec. 103–Dec. 104. But on May 13, 105 Trajan is still Imp. IV (from a military diploma of that date). Hence Imp. V in the Alcantara inscription should be Imp. IV (Dessau *ad loc.*, Mommsen, p. 463).

(2) Other inscriptions show Trajan Trib. pot. XI, Imp. VI, i.e. in the year Dec. 106–Dec. 107 (*C.I.L.* VIII, 9767, IX, 36). Further, a small town, Aime-en-Tarentaise (Forum Claudii Ceutronum Axima) congratulates Trajan Trib. pot. XII, Imp. VI, cos. V "devictis Dacis,"

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i.e. in the year Dec. 107–108 (Dessau 289). It is possible therefore that the operations after the fall of Sarmizegetusa were protracted through 107, and the many "Scenes" on the Column seem to suggest this. On the other hand, Trajan remains Imp. VI until his Eastern wars begin in 114, and the Aime inscription is thus not conclusive. Moreover Licinius Sura is cos. ord. III on Jan. 1, 107, and so back from the war (cf. *Prosop. Imp. Rom. sub voc.*). It is not however known that he stayed in Dacia to the end.

Hence though the Second War is usually supposed to have lasted two years, like the first, I am inclined to believe that the guerrilla operations dragged on for a third year. Of Trajan's salutations as Imperator therefore, Imp. V may belong to A.D. 106 (the fall of Sarmizegetusa), and Imp. VI to A.D. 107, the end of the whole war, "devictis Dacis."

NOTE F.

The "Trophy" and the "Altar" at Adamklissi.

At the village of Adamklissi in the Dobrudja, nine miles south of Rassova, are the remains of the Roman monument always known as the Tropaeum Traiani, which has been described above (see pp. 261–263). Two-hundred yards from the "Trophy" were found the remains of the "Altar" which has been described above as a commemoration by Domitian of Cornelius Fuscus, praetorian prefect, and his army, destroyed by the Dacians in A.D. 87 (see p. 163). In the vicinity are the remains of the Roman town which took its name from the Trophy (see pp. 263–264).

Both Trophy and Altar have excited much wordy controversy. The modern writers concerned are the following:

(1) Tocilesco, Gr. G.

Tocilesco, Director of the Museum at Bukarest (to whom the Corpus owes most of the inscriptions of the Dobrudja), a patriotic Roumanian and a tireless archaeologist, conducted five excavations at Adamklissi between 1882 and 1890. He published his results in 1895 at Vienna, in an artistic, beautifully printed and illustrated folio of 150 pages, crammed full of architectural details and sketches, entitled *Das Monument von Adamklissi, Tropaeum Traiani*, unter Mitwirkung von Otto Benndorf und G. Niemann, herausgegeben von Gr. G. Tocilesco. It is a "royal" production, worthy of its dedication to the King of Roumania.

(2) Furtwängler, Adolf.

"Das Tropaion von Adamklissi und provinzialrömische Kunst": *ap. Abhandlungen der philos.-philol. Klasse der K. bayer. Akad. der*

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Wissenschaften, XXII, No. 3, pp. 455–516 (München, 1905). With 12 excellent plates.

(3) Studniczka, F.

"Tropaeum Traiani, ein Beitrag zur Kunstgeschichte der Kaiserzeit": *ap. Abhandlungen des philol.-hist. Klasse der K. sächs. Gesells. der Wissenschaften*, XXII, No. 4, pp. 152 (Leipzig, 1904).

(4) Cichorius, Conrad.

Die römischen Denkmäler in der Dobrudscha: pp. 142 (Berlin, 1904).

(*A*) *The Trophy.*

Of the first part of the inscription of the Trophy (*C.I.L.* III, 12467) there can be no doubt. It runs as follows:

"Marti Ultori Imp. Caesar Divi Nervae f. Nerva Traianus Aug. Germ. Dacicus Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. XIII Imp. VI, Cos. V, P.P."

It is therefore, it might seem, of certain date, i.e. between Dec. 10, 108–Dec. 9, 109. Trajan then in this year erected the Trophy as a monument of victory, either to commemorate the Dacian Wars as a whole, or in memory of some particular incident which befel in those wars upon this site (see below).

Of the last lines of the inscription however there remain a few fragmentary letters only, viz.

ITU
SU
E

These are usually interpreted as Exerc*itus* (or per exerc*itum*) Moesiae Inferioris *sub*—the name of the governor, which ex hyp. ended in *e*. Unfortunately there is no evidence to show who was governor of Lower Moesia in A.D. 109.

But this, the natural and obvious view of the Trophy's date and cause, has been challenged by the ingenuity and artistic precision of Adolf Furtwängler. His view is the following:

This monument is of the early Augustan Age. It was erected by the troops of M. Licinius Crassus, to commemorate that general's expedition in 29–28 B.C. from Macedonia to the Danube against the Dacians. Here at this site, ex hyp., Crassus won his victory and erected the Trophy before he left the scene finally. "Six months would be enough for its building." Both building material and artistic style are appropriate to the Age of Augustus rather than to that of Trajan. Here then in the Dobrudja Crassus' Trophy remained for many years in splendid isolation (and in territory unoccupied by the Romans), a warning to the natives of the remote district concerning

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the strength of distant Rome, comparable to the flying of the German flag in a new land which the explorer then evacuates. (These were the days of Dr Peters. The theory of annexation by "effective occupation" does not worry the German.) Rome had made her first appearance beyond the Balkans, and the lonely monument commemorated that signal achievement.

But the inscription is Trajan's, and there is no trace of any earlier?

This is at once explained. Crassus did not dare to put his own name on the monument until he had obtained the sanction of the jealous Augustus for this. But Rome was a long way off, and Crassus had to march his army away before any such permission arrived from the Emperor. The general knew his envious and suspicious master. Does the latter mention Crassus' splendid achievements once even upon his Ancyran monument? Hence the monument of Adamklissi had to stay nameless, and hence too no Augustan writer makes a single mention of it.

After long years, came Trajan, to restore the monument *and* to place his own name upon it. "Rest*itu*it," reads Furtwängler. Crassus was not even mentioned.

For Trajan, among many virtues, exhibited one peculiar and unamiable weakness. Unlike the generous Hadrian (cf. my *Hadrian*, p. 247, concerning the "Pantheon of Agrippa"), Trajan loved to appropriate other men's buildings as his own. Constantine (who certainly lived in a glass house in this respect, as the Flavian (?) sculptures of his Arch in the Forum show) jested at his predecessor for this, and nicknamed him "herba parietaria" for it, the wall creeper which obscures the ancient wall (Vict. *Epist.* 41, 13; Amm. Marcell. 27, 3, 7). So Trajan appropriated Crassus' Tropaeum, and, the Dacian Wars over, gave it a restoration, a date, and his own name, and founded the town hard by to borrow his own name and that of the monument now his. (At least however it appears that he had enough grace to record the fact that his was but a "restoration." Why should the ivy call attention to its wall?)

The monument itself declares its origin. The grotesque rudeness of its sculptures, the garb and weapons of its figures, akin to the "priceless" local art of Augustus' Arch at Susa, the very roundness of its shape (alas for Coliseum and Castle of S. Angelo!), reveal the time of Augustus.

But—"would not Ovid at Tomi have mentioned it?"

No! That "weichliche gebrochene jammernde Mann" never stirred outside the walls of the city of his exile, and never shows the least trace of any interest in any old monuments of its barbarian Hinterland.

To this effect, at very great length, Adolf Furtwängler.

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Furtwängler's name as expert in art carried a few English captive away, with greater or less hesitation. Mrs Strong at first swallowed his views whole.[1] Even Stuart Jones is doubtful. Pelham rejected the whole theory.

Then a compatriot art expert arose and tore Furtwängler to pieces. Studniczka controverts every single argument—from architecture, style, decoration, building material, sculpture. Other also of his more historical criticisms seem fatal. "Six months for building? Even if Crassus' men in 28 had had these six months—and quite obviously they had *not*—two years is a minimum for building this great Trophy" (p. 8, so Cichorius, pp. 12–15). What is Mars Ultor doing in 28 B.C.? This God becomes prominent in the patronage of the Roman army only after the building of his great Temple in Rome in 2 B.C. How could Trajan "restore" to Mars Ultor a monument which originally could have had nothing whatever to do with the God? (p. 9). Then again, "the primitive quasi-archaistic rawness" of the sculptures (p. 152) cannot prove date. The common legionary is no more an artist in the second century A.D. than he is in the first century B.C.

So Furtwängler's theory is "rejected on all sides." And the Trajan date, 109, given in the inscription as edited by Mommsen and Von Domaszewski (*ad C.I.L.* III, Suppl. 2, p. 2100) is that of the erection for the first time of the Trophy. To this conclusion come Cichorius and Tocilesco. Surely this *is* the sounder view. How dangerous is an argument from "style" with no support!

What then *does* "Trajan's Trophy" commemorate, and what is it doing in the Dobrudja of all places? For a mere "episode" it seems on too grand a scale. For a memorial of the Conquest of Dacia it seems in the wrong spot.

Tocilesco has made the attempt to read it as the Column, i.e. to find in its sculptures a consecutive series of pictures of both Dacian Wars, separated by No. 28, "the ideal figure of the victorious Emperor." His attempt is infelicitous. The temptation is strongest after all to associate it with, if not a single event, yet at least a single campaign-event, such as the repulse of the Sarmatian raiders in the winter of A.D. 101–102, *or* the expulsion of the Dacian invaders of Moesia in A.D. 105. Thus it is solely on strength of the Trophy's existence at Adamklissi that the "Long Voyage" theories of Trajan's voyage in this year are based (see above, p. 278). But in fact there is nothing in the Trophy of necessity to imply Trajan's presence at Adamklissi at all. Professor Gardner again moves more cautiously

[1] But in the Italian translation of her charming book just published the Adamklissi monument is "restored to Trajan" (*Journal of Roman Studies*, XV, p. 282).

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than convincingly when he writes, "It does not, it is true, seem to have any relation to the Dacian Wars of Trajan, but it may well have reference to other and earlier campaigns of that most warlike of Emperors" (*J.R.S.* VII, 1917 (1920), p. 23). What mysterious earlier campaigns are these? Are we to invent new wars for Trajan, I suppose in his first winter on the Danube A.D. 98–99, in a desperate effort to explain the Trophy?

Cichorius is hardly less vague, and even suggests that its barbarians are not Dacians at all. Really however they look not unlike the Column's Dacians, given the supposition that the veteran has replaced the artist in the sculpting. Moltke, who visited Adamklissi in 1837, is hardly more happy. "The tomb of a Roman general," he declared. Yet perhaps his arrow flies not wholly wide of the mark, and the secret of the Trophy lies in the dedication to Mars Ultor. Whom does the God of Vengeance, in Trajan's own choice of offering, here, in the Dobrudja, avenge? Vengeance of Rome's soldier God is for the dead, not for the victorious. Who but Trajan has vindicated Roman honour for the disaster which befel Roman arms when Domitian was Prince? So, to my thinking, the secret of the Trophy must be sought 200 yards away in

(*B*) *The Altar.*

This has been described, and its inscription (Dessau 9107) has been given, above (see p. 164). The usual view connects it with Trophy, Town, and Trajan. If the Trophy commemorates some (untraceable) victory of the Dacian Wars, the Altar is a cenotaph, to bear the names of the dead, since these could not decently be put upon the monuments of triumph itself. So Mommsen *ad C.I.L.* III, 14214; Studniczka, p. 10; Von Domaszewski, "Rheinisches Museum," 1905, p. 159.

Cichorius' view is far more attractive to me, viz. that this is the "Mausoleum" of the dead who actually fell with Fuscus upon this very spot, in A.D. 87. Except in so far as Trajan's Dacian Wars were the necessary complement of Domitian's and the conquest of Dacia "avenged" a notable disaster under the earlier Emperor, the "Altar" has nothing to do with Trajan, Trophy, or Town. It and the circumstances which led to its dedication by Domitian, then, by themselves account for both the erection and the site of the Trophy without any further puzzlement.

Cichorius insists on the magnitude of the total loss implied by the surviving seventy names upon the remnants of the Altar. By measurements he works out the total casualty list as 2800, if not as many as 3800, dead. Hence, I imagine, the "3000" which has crept into the modern textbook with such assurance (Stuart Jones,

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Roman Empire, p. 164). We need not follow him in his argument from the number of the dead to the possible number of the entire force engaged. For as against his 2319 Prussian dead at Sedan to the 200,000 of the army we might be inclined to remember that out of 50,000 Seaforth Highlanders who went overseas in our war against Prussia, 8432 never returned (*Times*, Aug. 23, 1923). It is more tempting to follow him in comparing Agricola's loss of but 360 men at the battle of Mons Graupius. The argument at least is valid in dismissing Petersen's view that the Altar commemorates the dead of a mere frontier episode. And the dead Prefect was surely more than a mere Praefectus Alae to be honoured thus. Fuscus was "dux" of a colonia (Tacitus, *Hist.* II, 86). He of the Altar was of the "colonia" Pompeii. If Fuscus' colonia was Vienne, as Von Domaszewski maintains, we celebrate an unknown warrior in the Altar of Adamklissi and not Fuscus. But I cannot find that Vienne is proven.

Upon the scene of Fuscus' defeat twenty years before, Trajan erected his Trophy of Victory over the same enemy, and fitly dedicated it to "Mars the Avenger." The theory linking Altar and Trophy is surely well-knit, and neither memorial of defeat nor memorial of vengeance for defeat needs other explanation.

Additional Note to Note D (p. 298).

K. Lehmann-Hartleben has recently written an elaborate (and expensive) study of the Column (*Die Trajanssäule*, Berlin, 1926, Vol I Text, Vol. II Plates). His analysis of particular scenes is minute and his criticism is acute, though sceptical and often hostile to Cichorius and (especially) Petersen (e.g. p. 47). His interest, however, is always in the development of Roman Art, and he adds little to the historical use of the Reliefs. He is always searching for the genesis of the sculptor's ideas and of his "conventional types," an enquiry which leads him very far afield. Words like "composition" and "antithesis" are dear to him (p. 118). Thus in his view the sculptor was always ready to sacrifice fidelity in the reproduction of events to artistic sense and artistic tradition (pp. 31, 63–64, 116), and the identification of any particular landscape seems to him most hazardous (pp. 128–133). Details, he urges, must *not* be pressed (p. 36). Negative arguments from the absence of events are valueless (pp. 24, 33, 55). "The Master of the Reliefs is not very greatly concerned with historic truth" (p. 55). Such a reaction against Cichorius' enthusiasm is perhaps useful, if discomfiting, but it is not over-convincing, particularly in view of the writer's apparent ignorance of the work of G. A. T. Davies.

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CHAPTER XII

TRAJAN'S WARS IN THE EAST

§ 1 The eastern frontier under Trajan and the annexation of Arabia Petraea. § 2 The cause of Trajan's attack on Parthia. [*Note* to § 2: A passage from Fronto.] § 3 Campaign of A.D. 114: the annexation of Armenia. § 4 Campaign of A.D. 115: the annexation of Mesopotamia. § 5 Campaign of A.D. 116: the annexation of "Assyria" and "Parthia." § 6 The breaking of the storm. § 7 The Jewish massacres and the death of Trajan. [*Note* to § 7: The evidence for the Jewish outbreaks.] § 8 Trajan: service and disservice to the Empire. [*Note* to Chapter 12: The princes of Parthia.]

§ 1. *The eastern frontier under Trajan and the annexation of Arabia Petraea.*

DURING the first sixty years of the first century of our era the two rival Empires of Rome and Parthia had quarrelled and fought insatiably. The prize for their contending had been nominally the huge, mountainous, and sorry country of Armenia. In reality the riches of hither Asia, of Syria, of Mesopotamia and the Tigris valley were the objects for which the two Powers strove.

At last the Emperor Nero, having vindicated the might of Roman arms by the sagacity and the valour of Corbulo, had achieved in A.D. 64 a compromise which gave some promise of lasting peace. By this compromise Armenia as most obvious cause of dispute might seem to have been set aside. Henceforward a Parthian prince, usually, it seems, a younger son of the king of Parthia, was to sit upon its throne, but he should receive his investiture from the Roman Emperor. Tiridates the Parthian, crowned in Rome king of Armenia amid all the sumptuous pageantry of the "Golden Day," returned satisfied to the East. His brother Vologeses, among the greatest of the kings of Parthia, cemented with Nero a friendship which in its effects long outlived this Emperor's unhappy death.[1]

The new peace on the Euphrates, though occasionally threatened, lasted in fact just half a century. By Nero's settlement not only had Roman *amour propre* been consoled, but the Western Power had achieved a satisfactory strategical frontier

[1] See my *Nero*, pp. 191 sq.

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in the East. The annexation of Armenia on the other hand, so long as Parthia retained northern Mesopotamia, would have given Rome a gigantic "re-entering frontier" of the most dangerous description. Such a frontier would have been a standing invitation to the Parthian to attack and a likely source of constant disaster to Roman armies struggling in Armenian wilds. The line of the Cappadocian-Syrian frontier on the contrary was strategically in every respect the sounder.

For defensive purposes however this line needed very particular attention, as the wars under Nero had definitely proved. The Flavian Emperors first, and Trajan after them, used the fifty years of peace for wise measures of re-organisation. Under their predecessors the Roman frontier had been composed of a chain of petty principalities and minor provinces on the Upper Euphrates and, to the south, one great "first-class" military province, that of Syria, on whose army the defence of the whole line rested. The burden on the governor of Syria was impossible. The auxiliary troops and local levies at the disposal of the governor of Cappadocia could not secure the northern section of the frontier against attack. It has already been shown how Vespasian wisely so changed the organisation of the frontier districts on the Upper Euphrates and in Judaea, that in the first decade of the second century an unbroken line of Roman provinces faced and challenged any possible menace from Armenia.[1]

There remained the problem of the desert separating the lands under direct Roman government, Syria and Judaea, from the Mesopotamian plains. Two semi-independent kingdoms survived in the Flavian period.

The first was that ruled by King Agrippa the Second, comprising the strip of land east of the Jordan and Lake Tiberias. This Marcus Julius Agrippa,[2] the Idumaean, last king of the House of Herod, had been born as far back as A.D. 28, and educated in Rome. From Claudius he had received, first the principality of Chalcis, then in A.D. 53, in place of this principality, the districts of Batanea, Trachonitis, and Abila,[3] together

[1] See above, chapter IV, § 1.
[2] Loosely entitled "Herod Agrippa."
[3] See map in my *Nero* to face p. 362.

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with the title of King. Nero in A.D. 55 added certain towns, and Vespasian, in reward for the king's notable services in the Jewish war, still further increased his dominions.[1] He enjoyed still many years of life after the fall of Jerusalem, honoured as the "Rex Magnus Agrippa Pius Philocaesar et Philoromaeus." Upon his death all his dominions were quietly added to the province of Syria, either by Domitian in A.D. 92 or 93, or by Trajan in A.D. 100. The latter date has the backing of one direct statement in an ancient writer.[2] The earlier seems the more probable.[3]

North-east, east, and south-east, of this Trans-Jordania land lay Arabia Petraea, stretching from Damascus to the Red Sea and the borders of Egypt. This land of the Nabataeans had been reduced to the usual vassalage of a client kingdom by Pompey and Marcus Scaurus in the years 63–60 B.C., and the successors of the humbled king, Aretas, continued to occupy this vassal position for more than a century and a half. The royal city was Petra, in its lonely and distant southern valley. To it over the wide desert came the caravans carrying the wares of Mesopotamia and the Far East, the spices and perfumes of Arabia, and the products of India landed at the port of Leuce Come on the Red Sea Hedjaz coast or at the head of the Gulf of Akaba. From Petra the caravan route ran northwards to Bostra and so presently to Damascus. Damascus itself certainly from time to time belonged to and marked the northern limit of the Nabataean kingdom, though Pompey had once claimed it for Roman Syria, and Nero may possibly have similarly so reclaimed it. Yet at the end of the first century of our era this city is subject to the native king, as an inscription of the year A.D. 99 shows.[4] But Petra, in the annals of the Nabataeans, occupies the place of honour over her sister cities Damascus and Bostra.

King Maliku of Arabia Petraea, like King Agrippa, had aided

[1] See my *Nero*, pp. 363, 367–373. Why one of his "eras" dates from A.D. 61 remains unexplained.

[2] *Ap.* Photius, *Bibl.* 33.

[3] Cf. the article in Pauly-Wissowa, *sub voc.* Julius Agrippa, No. 54, vol. x, pp. 146–150. de la Berge and Marquardt prefer the Trajanic date.

[4] See Pauly-Wissowa, vol. IV, pp. 2046–2047; Ruggiero, *Dis. Epig.* I, p. 607.

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the Romans in the Jewish war under Vespasian. Maliku's son, Dabel (or Rabel) reigned from about A.D. 75 to 106. On March 22, it seems, of the year A.D. 106, after Dabel's death, the then governor of Roman Syria, A. Cornelius Palma, upon Trajan's orders, annexed the country, and henceforward "Arabia Petraea" makes one of the Roman Imperial provinces. Damascus itself and the district round the city were assigned to Syria. No sign of any effective Roman occupation has been as yet discovered south of Petra. In the reign of Septimius Severus the city of Bostra was the seat of the Roman governor and the headquarters of the Roman garrison, this latter constituted by Legio III Cyrenaica. This may have been the case from the original annexation in A.D. 106. Bostra was more accessible than Petra, and soon rejoiced in its proud title Nova Traiana Bostra. The "new era" of Roman Bostra survived the Mussulman conquest.[1] The conqueror of Arabia himself, Palma, was duly honoured, it is supposed, by the Roman Senate, being granted "triumphal decorations" and a statue in the Forum of Augustus,[2] a fitting place. For it had been Augustus who had sent his general Aelius Gallus against Arabia Felix, even as far as "the borders of the Sabaeans," albeit neither Gallus nor Gaius Caesar after him won any lasting achievement. Now at last, thanks to Palma, there was a Roman Arabia, Petraean if not Felix.[3] And at least five "Petraean" cohorts of auxiliaries were added to the Roman army, to do service in Syria, and to share in Trajan's eastern wars.[4]

Roman Arabia, annexed so quietly by Trajan, increased in wealth and prosperity. The cities of Petra, Bostra, and others of Trans-Jordania were enormously enriched.[5] Amid all the storms which beat upon the Empire during the next four centuries the land was a veritable oasis of tranquillity and of the enjoyment of the riches and blessings of the Roman peace. Not only the famous remains of Petra itself, but the ruins of many

[1] Dio, LXVIII, 14 etc. Cf. Ruggiero, *Diz. Epig.* I, pp. 607–609 and 1021; Pauly-Wissowa, vol. I, pp. 359–360; de la Berge, chapter 4.
[2] Dessau 1023 (?).
[3] Cf. *Mon. Ancyr.* III, p. 782; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 12, 14, 55, 56.
[4] Dessau, reff. *sub voc.* III, p. 469.
[5] Rostovtzeff, *Roman Empire*, p. 532.

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another town and settlement remain to this day to show the glory of the Roman Empire and the curse of Islam upon its own Arabian home. "Opima varietate commerciorum castrisque oppleta validis et castellis." So with its three "civitates ingentes" of Bostra, Gerasa, Philadelphia, added to Petra, the land, three hundred years after its annexation by Trajan, lay rejoicing still under the protection and direct government of Rome.[1]

§ 2. *The cause of Trajan's attack on Parthia.*

By the beginning of the second decade of the first century Rome's rampart of defence on the entire length of her eastern frontier stood strong and secure, the result of half a century's quiet unobtrusive work. Then, in the last years of his reign, the Emperor Trajan suddenly fell upon Parthia. From the first he resolved to annex, not only the vast country of Armenia, but the Parthian dominions from the Syrian frontier to the Tigris and beyond. There is no hint here in the east of any change of plan, as had been the case with Dacia, of any late development, half way through the struggle, of the purpose to annex. Had Dacia so whetted the Imperial appetite? Yet eight years had passed since the close of the Dacian wars before Trajan launched his legions against the greater enemy.

In three summer campaigns the Emperor achieved the whole of his design. In A.D. 114 he added Armenia to the Roman Empire. In A.D. 115 northern Mesopotamia as far as the Tigris, roughly demarcated on the south by a line drawn from Antioch to Mosul, was annexed. In A.D. 116 at the head of his armies he crossed the Tigris into Kurdistan; stormed down the river past Bagdad; captured the Parthian's capital Ctesiphon, eighteen miles south-east of this city; and thus added to "Armenia" and "Mesopotamia" the two other provinces of "Assyria" and "Parthia." In the autumn of A.D. 116 he journeyed down stream to receive the submission of the local Sheik at the head of the Persian Gulf, and so stood, victor of the East in three

[1] Amm. Marcell. XIV, 8, 13. Cf. Mommsen's glowing account *ap. Provinces*, Eng. trans. II, pp. 153–159.

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short years, gazing still discontentedly over the waters of "Ocean," beyond which India beckoned him derisively to adventure yet farther in Alexander's track. With passionate sighs of regret, Trajan, greatest of Roman conquerors, turned back. Youth was his no longer. The end of life was very near.

Why did Trajan, a man long since past the prime of life, break the long peace and attack Parthia?

The simplest explanation is the best. He had been provoked, and was not of a temper to brook provocation without stern reply.

The compromise of A.D. 64 between Rome and Parthia concerning Armenia had left loopholes through which quarrels might creep in. There are big gaps in our knowledge about its actual working. When a king of Armenia died, was Parthia bound to consult Rome before the nominee of the former made formal application to the latter for recognition? Could Rome refuse to sanction Parthia's nomination? Could either Rome or Parthia depose an Armenian king? Rome had scarcely either right or power to do this. Parthia clearly had the power. Had she also the right, without consulting Rome previously? There is no certain answer to these questions. Probably no written agreement between the two Empires existed, no scrap of paper to be torn up and so lead to war. All that is certain is that at some time between the years A.D. 111–113 the Parthian monarch took an action which the Roman Emperor resented as a breach of the old agreement, and war followed. The following are the facts:

King Pacorus of Parthia died in A.D. 110 or 111. He was succeeded by his brother, the twenty-fifth "Arsacid," by name Chosroes, Osroes, or Orroes. Chosroes is the name popularly used. He was the younger son of that Vologeses who had governed the Parthian Empire with marked ability for many years, the while that a succession of Princes, from Nero to Domitian, had ruled in Rome.

Pacorus had left two adult sons, Exedares (or Axidares) and Parthamasiris by name. Chosroes their uncle appointed the elder of his nephews, Exedares, to the throne of Armenia. That

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Trajan had appointed Exedares seems highly improbable.[1] The circumstances under which the throne of Armenia had been left vacant are unknown. But Chosroes failed to apply to Rome, or to bid his nephew apply, for the formal investiture of the new king by Trajan. The cause of this omission is also unknown. Possibly Chosroes was in a hurry to console his nephew for the loss of his prospect of succeeding to the greater throne of Parthia, of which, as eldest son of the late King Pacorus, the younger man might have expected the inheritance. But the laws of succession in Parthia are unknown to us. The dramatic motive for a grudge felt by the nephew and for the hurry by a usurping uncle is clear. History however can only be allowed to suggest that Chosroes can hardly have indulged carelessly or ignorantly in his "diplomatic" blunder.

Trajan was wrathful. Recently proof had come to light that the Dacian Decebalus had sought to enlist Parthian support in his struggle with Rome. If Pacorus had refused his help, he had at least detained the Dacian envoy and failed to denounce the proposal to Rome.[2] He had also been heard openly complaining against Trajan.[3] Now Pacorus' successor Chosroes had trampled wantonly on Roman pride.

This was insolence, to be punished at once by war, and not by protest first. Making his purpose openly known, Trajan left Rome for Syria in October A.D. 113.[4]

Chosroes in alarm strove to avert the threatened peril. His envoys, hurriedly despatched, met the angry Roman at Athens as he travelled to the East. They tendered him gifts and apologies. Chosroes sent word by them that he had already deposed Exedares, whom he had found likely to please neither Trajan nor himself. Would the Roman Emperor, he asked, allow the brother, Parthamasiris, to become king of Armenia, and send to him the crown?

[1] As Mommsen, *Provinces*, II, p. 66. The passage cited from Arrian certainly does not prove this.

[2] Pliny, *Epist. ad Traian.* 74; see above chapter XI, § 1.

[3] Arrian *ap.* Suidas, *sub voc.* *ἐπίκλημα.*

[4] Malalas, *Chron.* p. 275. The relief of the durbar at Antioch shown on the Arch of Beneventum, if of the same date as the arch, A.D. 114, also suggests the previous year and not 114 (as Mommsen, *Provinces*, II, p. 66 note) for Trajan's departure from Rome.

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It was a very complete apology, but Trajan was not appeased. The dismayed envoys returned to their master, bearing with them a brief letter. Friendship, the Roman wrote, was to be judged by deeds, not by words. As soon as he himself arrived in Syria, he would take such steps as were fitting.

If the language was ominously vague, Trajan's actions were clear enough. He sailed at once to Seleucia, and thence proceeded to Antioch, where he arrived on the seventh of January, A.D. 114.

The army of Syria was mobilised.[1] The princes of the border districts were called to meet the Emperor at Antioch. Not all obeyed the summons. Sporaces, ruler of Anthemusia, the district into which the way led which crossed the Euphrates at Zeugma, and Mannus, his Arabian neighbour, stayed away. But a more notable absentee was Abgarus, king of Osroene and its capital city Edessa, through whose dominions lay an obvious route for the advance of a Roman army upon Mesopotamia.

This Abgarus was one of a long line of kings of Edessa. Christian legend has enshrined the memory of his ancestor who sent begging Christ to come and heal him of a grievous disease. To whom the Lord Jesus made answer that He would send him one of His disciples when that He Himself had ascended into heaven. And with the letter, whose purport is thus preserved, there came that likeness of the Redeemer which in after years remained Edessa's special pride. So in due time Saint Thaddeus came and restored the king to health. Monarch and people embraced the Christian faith. Apostasy soon followed, and Saint Thaddeus received the guerdon of martyrdom at the hands of Sanatrak, king of Armenia. "The legend of Abgar and his correspondence has provoked the attack of modern criticism and has perished in the unequal affray."[2]

The later Abgar received Trajan's summons to come to Antioch. He was an important ally, if he could be secured. The king sent back friendly words and gifts in plenty but withheld his desired presence. He was the most important of many

[1] See note at end of section, "A passage from Fronto."
[2] Lynch, *Armenia*, I, p. 278.

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waverers. For one year longer he remained undisturbed in his state of painful if judicious indecision. For as yet no Roman army marched that way.

Armenia itself, so Trajan decided, must be the objective of the first campaign. Doubtless it was the right strategy. No Roman army could advance securely through northern Mesopotamia with Armenia hostile and constantly threatening the left flank and the communications of the column of march. Other considerations also directed the choice. Armenia was the very *casus belli*. Perhaps (though it seems unlikely) the enemy had already occupied Samosata, the Euphrates garrison town at the crossing north of Zeugma.[1] And during Trajan's absence in Armenia, the Syrian frontier at this latter crossing could be safely held against any possible Parthian attack. Mesopotamia itself must wait for the next year's campaign.

NOTE TO § 2: *A passage from Fronto.*

There is a long and sorely broken passage in Fronto (ed. Naber, pp. 204–210), in which the writer sets out to compare the two Parthian Wars, that of Trajan and that of Lucius Verus, to the greater credit, wherever possible, of the latter. In it occurs a continuous passage which describes the abominable condition and the indiscipline of the Syrian army upon the arrival of the Emperor. Fronto is obviously imitating Tacitus's description of that same army when Corbulo first arrived to take up the command, and adds his own picturesque details. The soldiers are drunk from midday onwards. They strip off their heavy armour piece by piece and are half-naked like the archers. The sounding of the trumpets at first sight of the Parthians gives the signal for instant flight, etc., etc. This sorry state of things is due to a long preceding period of peace—"longa desuetudine bellandi." Then the Emperor sets to work to restore discipline. He sets the example of endurance on the march and in camp; visits the men's tents constantly; tends the sick; lives laboriously day by day; contends against the foppishness of the Syrians, the boorishness of the Pannonians; deals with military "crimes." At

[1] For if Legio XVI were in occupation of it still, why should Dio record that Trajan advanced to it ἀμαχεί (Dio, LXVIII, 19)? But we have no room here for Fronto's "mala proelia" (see note at end of section). And J. A. R. Munro says that "nothing can be built on Dio's remark that Trajan occupied Samosata without fighting. He says the same of the whole march to Satala" (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXI (1901), p. 62).

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this point the passage becomes hopelessly fragmentary. The words sieges, battles, forts, picquets, assaults, perils, come hurtling confusedly together. When it next becomes intelligible it is a comparison between Lucius Verus and Trajan. Lucius so cared for the life of his men that he was willing even to sacrifice his own military glory if he could secure peace by negotiation rather than by battle. Trajan "saw that his glory would be the greater for the sacrifice of his troops." Lucius offers peace, and, when the barbarian rejects the offer, takes vengeance upon him. Trajan spurns the Parthian envoys who come often to him begging for peace.

The doubt concerns the person of "the Emperor" of the earlier section. Is this Trajan or is it Verus? The "longa desuetudo bellandi" suits both alike. A marginal note on the MS. ascribes Fronto's description to Trajan, and Mommsen adopts this view (*Provinces*, II, p. 67). Despite the mention of Pannonians, this seems to me an unlikely view. Ironical though it may seem to us, this is surely part of Fronto's flattery of Verus. For the description *follows* a brief account of Hadrian's peace policy and it seems obviously this which has reduced the Syrian army to its lamentable state. Moreover, the troops, says Fronto, before the Emperor's arrival, had been so often routed "malis proeliis" that they would run at the mere glimpse of a Parthian. Now before Verus comes to it the eastern army does seem to have suffered at the enemy's hands, and the Parthians had victoriously invaded Syria. Nothing of the kind is recorded under Domitian, Nerva, or Trajan, unless we read defeat in Pliny's bestowal of a "Parthica laurus" upon the object of his panegyric. Dio, so far as we have him, has no story of this restoration of discipline in connection with either Emperor. He may not have consulted Fronto. His omission is more intelligible if Fronto's is artificial rhetoric concerning Verus than if Trajan did in reality find his army in such evil plight. And finally, Fronto (p. 205) clearly is setting out to prove that Lucius Verus had a harder task than Trajan. Trajan's men, he actually says, were veterans who, after their experience in Dacia, were scornful of a Parthian foe. Arrow wounds were trivial in comparison with those dealt by Dacian scimitars. But Lucius' men were either raw recruits or "molli militia corrupti." I therefore regard this passage from Fronto as of little use for the story of Trajan's eastern wars. That Verus and not Trajan is the hero of the earlier section is also the view decisively held by C. R. Haines, translator of Fronto in the Loeb Library, vol. II, pp. 207 sq.

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§ 3. *Campaign of* A.D. 114: *the annexation of Armenia.*

In the spring of A.D. 114 Trajan marched out of Antioch northwards. The strength of his army is not known. His great predecessor in Armenian warfare, Corbulo, in his campaign of A.D. 58–59, had established his winter quarters at Erzerum, whence he struck at Armenia's northern capital, Artaxata. Trajan's plan was so far the same that for his first objective in the enemy's land he chose Elegeia, the modern Ilija, ten miles to the west of Erzerum.

From Antioch he marched by the highway on the Roman side of the frontier to Samosata, which the foe had evacuated on his approach, and Melitene, and in due course reached the garrison town of Satala.[1] Parthamasiris had now written humbly to him, omitting the objectionable title of king which in an earlier letter he had dared to employ. He begged that the governor of Cappadocia might be sent to him to receive proposals which he hoped to be allowed to make. Trajan in reply sent the governor's son, charged with a mandate to the Parthian to meet him at Elegeia.

Meanwhile, at Satala, the Emperor tarried awhile to hold a durbar for the dependent chieftains of the neighbourhood.

In Arrian's "Periplus of the Euxine Sea" there is a long list of the tribes on the eastern coast in Colchis under Caucasus ruled by chiefs subject to Rome who had been appointed by Trajan or, in one case, by Nerva. There come, in order from Trebizond to Dioscurias (Sebastopol), the Sanni, the Macrones or Machelones and Heniochi (King Anchialus), the Zudreitae (King Pharasmanes), the Lazi (King Malassas), the Apsilae (King Julianus, appointed by Nerva), the Abasci (King Rhesmagas), the Sanigae (King Spadagas), and the Zilchi (King Stachemphax).[2] Probably all were to some degree under Roman control, and King Anchialus is expressly mentioned as "won over by gifts" when Trajan was at Satala.[3] A later writer

[1] For Satala see above, chapter IV, note to § 1.
[2] *Periplus*, c. 11; cf. c. 18. Cf. Mommsen, *Provinces*, II, p. 68.
[3] Dio, LXVIII, 19.

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speaks of the Emperor as bestowing a king on the Albanians, and accepting pledges of loyalty from the kings of the Iberians, the Sauromatae, the Bosporani, and the Colchians.[1] The king of the Bosporani, whose principality lay on the eastern side of the Sea of Azov, was Sauromates II (A.D. 93–124). The Iberians and Albanians under Caucasus, the latter stretching eastwards to the Caspian, were more important. The Iberian light horse had been useful allies of Corbulo in former years. Which of these many small chieftains were present at the durbar at Satala is unknown. But it must have been a great gathering of the clans.

Homage tendered and allies mustered, the picturesque assembly dispersed. Trajan marched out from Satala eastwards, crossed the frontier, and reached Elegeia[2] without encountering any opposition. Parthamasiris had resolved to submit. Chosroes was far away, engaged in troubles of his own, and the Prince had little choice. He nourished the confident hope that Trajan would be gracious to him and place the crown of Armenia upon his head as Nero had in olden days accepted the submission of his erstwhile foe Tiridates and crowned him king of Armenia. With a small Parthian escort, Parthamasiris rode into Trajan's camp at Elegeia and found his hopes dashed rudely to the ground.

Of his interview with the Roman there is extant a long and lively account. Trajan knew well how to impress the Oriental by a display of magnificence. Seated upon a throne in the midst of his troops, he received the suppliant haughtily. Alarmed and confused by the shouts of the applauding soldiery, the Parthian silently laid the crown at the Emperor's feet and begged for secret audience in the Roman's tent. This Trajan conceded, but all the rest of the Prince's pleading was of no

[1] Eutropius, VIII, 3.

[2] Usually identified with the modern Ilija, 10 miles west of Erzerum on the Ashkala-Baiburt-Trebizond road. The road from Erzinjan to Erzerum is a "summer road" (Lynch), and the difficulties of the way were again and again emphasised in the campaigning here during the Great War. Dio is of course quite unconscious of anything remarkable in Trajan's march. "Satala to Elegeia" might be a morning's stroll along the Great North Road for aught he suggests. Ilija however "is a very common Turkish name for a natural hot spring and is used in many places all over the Ottoman Empire" (Yorke). So there are "hot springs" at the Erzerum Ilija (Lynch). Cf. Lynch, *Armenia*, II, p. 327 and Yorke, *Geog. Journal* for Oct.-Nov. 1896, p. 38 note.

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avail. Upon the next day, again in full military assembly, the Arsacid made a brave and dignified appeal for recognition. His request was rejected. Armenia, declared the Emperor, he would bestow upon no man. Now it was Roman land, and a Roman governor should rule it. Let the Armenians, henceforward subjects of Rome, abide peacefully in their homes. But let the Parthian depart. Escorted by a troop of Roman horse, Parthamasiris rode away from Elegeia, king of Armenia no longer.

Men said in after years that presently the Roman escort slew him. It may have been that he sought to escape and was at once cut down. Fronto, egregious flatterer of the worthless Lucius Verus, declares that Trajan failed in generosity. Yet Fronto himself admits that the Arsacid brought merited fate upon his own head.[1] It was easy to delight the empty soul of Verus by cavils at one of whose eastern glory the Antonine was jealous. The story ends here. Parthamasiris vanishes out of history's record.

Armenia lay leaderless, prostrate at Trajan's feet. He had perhaps no need to penetrate more deeply into the country. Not for him was a Corbulo's glorious march through the breadth and the length of that rugged inhospitable land. The eloquence of the great Latin rhetorician is consecrated to the service of a Verus but passes a Trajan by.[2] If the Emperor pursued his eastern march beyond Elegeia into the wild mountains there is no sure record of the fact. He "took the whole land of Armenia," campaigning beyond Elegeia, if at all, in a mist-wrapped military fairyland. Towards winter he reappears at Antioch. The new province was entrusted for the time being to the administration of the governor of Cappadocia. The Senate received the Napoleonic bulletins of victory with customary ecstatic votes of honour. Had he not for some time past been already "Optimus," "Optimus" now he would for the first time have been enthusiastically acclaimed.[3] Trajan's first eastern campaign comes to an end with little, if any, fighting in it.

[1] Ed. Naber, p. 209. [2] See note at end of § 2.

[3] As Dio, LXVIII, 23, 1. Dessau 293 gives him the title in A.D. 112. But perhaps this is a later interpolation (Mommsen, *ad loc.*). Yet Pliny, *Panegyr.* 2, gives him the title in A.D. 100. Cf. Schiller, p. 545 note. Perhaps he refused it as official cognomen until 114. Cf. Cagnat, *Cours d'Épig. Lat.* p. 118 note.

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§ 4. *Campaign of* A.D. 115: *the annexation of Mesopotamia.*

Northern Mesopotamia, the objective of the next campaign, lay between the Armenian mountains on the north, through which the Tigris breaks in a great defile, and the expanse of true desert plain south of Mosul and the Singara heights. The roads through this easy country had long been in use and must have been well known. The main route from the Euphrates at the Zeugma crossing to the distant Tigris at the ancient site of Nineveh led through Edessa, capital of Osroene, and Nisibis, to the outcrop of the Singara hills and eastwards along their southern edge to Singara town. The river itself at Nineveh was sixty miles beyond Singara, and some 300 miles east of Zeugma.

Trajan's strategy of advance was both simple and obvious, now that the annexation of Armenia in the preceding year had secured the column's left flank from any peril of attack over Mount Masius. His communications with his Syrian base must be secured by small garrisons placed from time to time along the road. The main army, leaving these behind it, would march straight for the Tigris, sweeping away any opposing forces and seizing the towns *en route*. The cavalry should precede the column on reconnaissance duties and guard the exposed right flank from surprise coming from the south. This important command was given to Lusius Quietus, the Moorish general of the Dacian Wars. He stands, a grim figure with non-Roman facial features, upon Trajan's Arch at Beneventum, where suppliant Mesopotamia kneels holding out her hands in entreaty before the Emperor. The commissariat arrangements must have been a triumph of efficiency, but never a word is told concerning them except the use of wagons in the campaign of A.D. 116, upon which boats for pontoon purposes were loaded.

The Moor's movements and duties, as well as this simple scheme of Roman strategy, have been gravely perturbed by a chance remark of a late rhetorician, one Themistius. Addressing Theodosius the Great some three centuries later, the orator, fawning as usual upon one who claimed descent from Trajan

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himself, remarks incidentally that "Lusius," selected by Trajan as his successor, a Libyan from the farthest confines of his land, "had subdued the Mardi."[1]

The Mardi, a nomad Armenian tribe whose chief settlements were east and south-east of Lake Van, are well known. They had earlier given Corbulo some trouble.[2] Hence, it has been urged, Trajan left Quietus in Armenia in A.D. 114 with instructions to complete the subjugation of the new province, and, in the following spring, to move down the west bank of the Tigris and join his Emperor, advancing from the west, at Singara. Meet Trajan at Singara Quietus undoubtedly at one time did. Yet hardly for this shall we condemn the sun-burnt African to endure the rigours of a winter on the shores of Lake Van, or, with de la Berge, conduct him, that he may wile away the weary months of waiting, into Media Atropatene, thence to come circling round two hundred miles or more to the east, until happily he "brings up to time" at Singara. For the French writer cannot leave Quietus room to bestow himself in Armenia itself. The patriotic asseverations of a local Armenian historian, one Moses of Khorene of late date, claim Armenian soil for a free Armenian Prince, one Ardaches, trusty friend of Trajan as of Hadrian after him. Mount Ararat is assigned him for his seat of power, part of the débris cast up by the floods of tradition upon that glorious mountain.[3]

The Mardi horsemen roved widely enough to be encountered on any one of Trajan's eastern campaigns. They may not lure us to persuade the Emperor to detach his greatest cavalry general for a wild-goose campaign among the Armenian and Median wilds and fastnesses and meet his Emperor again, with great congratulatory emotion, at Singara. The tale of the campaign and its strategy are more prosaic and more rational.

In the spring of A.D. 115 the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force left Antioch, and, crossing the Euphrates at Zeugma, marched to Batnae in the district of Anthemusia, and thence north-east to Edessa. The logic of events had by this time con-

[1] *Or.* XVI.

[2] See my *Nero*, p. 474. We cannot drag Mardyene on the Persian Gulf into this and make Quietus sent here to prepare Trajan's march to India!

[3] de la Berge, pp. 167 sqq.

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vinced King Abgarus that it was highly dangerous to preserve a benevolent neutrality any longer. He awaited Trajan's arrival at Edessa, and there presented himself humbly to the Emperor, with excuses for his absence from Antioch in the preceding year. Trajan accepted his apologies and allowed him to retain his crown, being moved to this clemency, according to the chronicler, by the beauty of the king's son Arbandus. "The boy was a handsome excuse for his father."[1] The king entertained the Roman at a lavish banquet, and, after the feasting was over, bade his son show Trajan "a real barbarian dance." The boy danced his reel, and history hears of him no more.

From Edessa the Romans marched 150 miles to Nisibis under the rampart of Mount Masius, crossing the Upper Khabur river and its headwater tributaries *en route*. It was probably from Nisibis that Trajan despatched Lusius Quietus and his troopers in advance to seize Singara and scour the plain eastwards as far as the Tigris. Presently he himself reached Singara and found his general in quiet occupation of the town. Nowhere had the Parthian army yet appeared to resist the Roman advance.

For Parthia was rent by civil war. As so often befell, the loose conglomeration of countries which made up the Eastern Monarchy tended to fall to pieces when assailed by a vigorous foe. Chosroes was fighting one Manisares, a vassal king or a pretender to his throne, who had recently sent his envoys to Trajan and was "ready to revolt."[2] But other of the minor chieftains were defiant of the Romans. Across the Tigris, in the hill country between the greater Zab river and the Tigris itself, lay Media, called Adiabene—the "Not-to-be-crossed land," as some pleasantly interpret its name. Over it there ruled King Mebarsapes. Trajan had sent to him a centurion, Sentius, on a mission. The king stuck loyally to his overlord, Chosroes, and imprisoned Sentius. There was also the Arab Sheik Mannus who roamed the district round Mosul. He sent his Arabs

[1] λαμπρὸν ἱκέτευμα. Dio, LXVIII, 21. So, on the extinction of the Western Empire in A.D. 476, Odoacer spared the boy Romulus Augustulus "quia pulcher erat."

[2] Dio, LXVIII, 22: hence probably a vassal king, despite Mommsen, *Provinces*, II, p. 67.

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over the river to swell King Mebarsapes' army, and presently, fleeing before Trajan's advance, joined the king in person.

On Tigris' bank Trajan therefore called a halt for the year. All beyond the river was hostile, and he was not prepared to cross it. On Trajan's Arch at Beneventum the two great rivers are portrayed. Euphrates is bridged. Tigris is still "free." Mesopotamia kneels imploringly. Why should she beg the Emperor to advance beyond her frontiers over the Tigris?[1] Enough at least had been done for the year. The occupied district was annexed as the second of the new provinces, though Abgarus of Edessa maintained his titular independence within the confines of "Mesopotamia." The Roman troops went into winter quarters. Trajan himself returned to Antioch. But Sentius was not forgotten.

It is at this point that, breaking in upon the meagre tale of war, there comes the graphic detailed story of the earthquake of Antioch, which befell at cock-crow on December 13, A.D. 115, and continued, it is said, for many days. Rhodes was also shaken. A third part of Antioch was laid in ruins, and many thousands of the inhabitants were killed, among them M. Pedo Vergilianus, one of the year's consuls. Trajan himself barely escaped with his life. "There came one of more than human stature and led him out by a wicket gate from the building where he was."

It is at this point also that John Malalas, i.e. John the Rhetorician, of Antioch refuses longer restraint and thrusts himself upon our reluctant notice. Publishing his chronicle more than four centuries later,[2] he claims attention as historian of Trajan's eastern wars only in sore default of others' evidence. If the Emperor himself failed to write his Commentaries on the Parthian War, though the Dacian had met kindlier treatment from him, yet his loyal servant Arrian had not been similarly negligent. The barest fragments of Arrian's *Parthica* are preserved and tell us nothing. Into the breach there rushes "the ignorant Greek,"[3] John the Rhetorician. Once he cites

[1] One of Von Domaszewski's typical flights of fancy.
[2] Between A.D. 528–540.
[3] Gibbon, ed. Bury, I, p. 338, note, who calls him Malala.

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Arrian, and leaves us thereby a tangle hopeless to unravel.[1] "The chronicle of Malalas gives the impression that it was compiled not by a rhetor but by a monk whose abysses of ignorance it would be hard to fathom.... There is no sense of proportion. The fall of an Empire and the juggling of a mountebank are related with the same seriousness."[2]

Yet "in the domestic history of Antioch John Malala becomes a writer of good authority."[3] Whence we may turn to his story of the earthquake and its consequences with a lively hope of entertainment which is not disappointed.

That so signal a disaster should have led the excitable and credulous mob of that luxurious eastern city into a search for scapegoats may well have been the case. So comes John's long story concerning Trajan's persecution of the Antiochene Christians "at the same time as the earthquake." In that persecution Saint Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, suffered martyrdom. But the wonderful tale of the "Five Women of Antioch" may excite some incredulity even in the most hardened. Haled before Trajan, the five women Christians firmly avow their belief in the resurrection of the body. The jeering Emperor promptly burns them alive, blends the ashes with bronze, and fashions from the mixture certain vessels for public use which he places in the Baths at Antioch. The result was quickly seen. No sooner did a bather enter the building than he reeled fainting with dizziness and must be dragged incontinently out into the fresh air again before he could revive. Whereat the Christians went about rejoicing loudly and scoffing at the Greeks.

Trajan removed the vessels from the Baths, replacing them by others of a less confounded metal. From the polluted basins he made five statues of the five martyrs, and, greatly daring, placed the statues once again in niches in the Baths. Nor did the bathers this time suffer any ill effects. Due honour at least had been paid the virgins.

Yet is John after all rhetorician in spirit and no monk. The Emperor is no whit disturbed nor impressed by the miracle. In the Baths he stands himself, looking upon the statues. "They

[1] See below, p. 344.
[2] J. B. Bury, *ap.* Gibbon, IV, p. 519.
[3] Gibbon, ed. Bury, III, p. 390, note.

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have had their resurrection," he says drily. "It is I who have given it to them, and not their God." Trajan had the best of the argument after all, as was not very difficult under the circumstances.

"Now these statues," John triumphantly continues, "remain in the Baths to this very day." "Moreover Trajan made a fiery furnace and gave proclamation that any Christian who so pleased had liberty to cast himself therein. Whereupon many so did and endured martyrdom. Among whom were Saint Drosina and very many other Virgins."

Such were the legends fastened upon five ancient statues which were of a certainty an adornment of the public Baths of Antioch in the sixth century of our era. Whereof the Christian piety of the bathers enjoyed such edification that Trajan discovers himself ranked among the persecutors of the Church.

§ 5. *Campaign of* A.D. 116: "*Assyria*" *and* "*Parthia*."

Trajan was fully resolved to make the third campaign the last and the decisive one of the struggle.

His objective must be the enemy's capital city, Ctesiphon, on the left bank of the Tigris sixteen miles below Bagdad (a city of the future). But the king of Adiabene had flouted him, and it was besides strategically unsound to leave this district unsubdued, threatening as it did the newly annexed lands in northern Mesopotamia west of Tigris and also the communications of an army moving down this river upon Ctesiphon.

Therefore in the early spring of the year A.D. 116 the Emperor directed his march first for Adiabene, using the now familiar road through Edessa and Nisibis. He had already given orders for the construction of many boats at Nisibis in the past winter. Timber was plentiful here from the forests in the neighbourhood of the town, whereas on the banks of the Tigris itself there were but few facilities for shipbuilding. On his arrival at Nisibis he found the boats duly prepared, as well as wagons for their transport to the river sixty miles away. At some spot not many miles below the gorge through which the great river breaks down from the Armenian mountains into the lowlands, "near

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Carduenus Mons," Trajan threw a pontoon bridge over the stream, forcing the passage in face of some slight opposition, and, advancing thus into Adiabene, overran King Mebarsapes' country.

There is but one incident recorded concerning this whole conquest of "Assyria." The king had imprisoned the centurion Sentius with other captives in a fortress named Adenustrae, the actual site of which is quite uncertain. Sentius instigated his fellow prisoners to break loose from their bonds. They fell upon the native commander of the garrison and slew him. With what pride the soldier then threw open the fortress gates to his countrymen we are left to imagine. Sentius may rank with Longinus as one of the valiant men, the glory of Trajan's armies.

In so short a time "Assyria" was in this way conquered and annexed. It is doubtful if the land ever saw a Roman governor. The army moved away. The bulk of its work for the year yet remained to be accomplished.

Then Trajan struck at Ctesiphon. But here all common-sense and strategical considerations alike cry out against the one solitary statement in an ancient writer concerning the Emperor's route. This is a fragment of Dio Cassius. "They marched as far as Babylon itself," it runs, "with great lack of men to hinder them."[1] At Babylon on the Euphrates Trajan first designs to cut a canal hence to the Tigris, but rejects the plan on the discovery that there was a serious difference of level between the two rivers. Though modern critics have made merry at this, there is in sober fact such a difference, the flood level of the Euphrates being some fourteen feet higher than that of the Tigris north of Bagdad.[2] A more reasonable objection to the story is that there had existed for many a long year before Trajan's coming such a canal connecting the Euphrates fifty miles above Babylon with the Tigris. Why should not the Emperor avail himself of this, the "Royal Canal," the Nahar-malcha?

Despite which, the ancient writer affirms that Trajan took his ships overland by the shortest route between the rivers and so came to Ctesiphon. Whence the modern Oxford historian

[1] Dio, LXVIII, 26, 4[2]. [2] Candler, *The Long Road to Bagdad*, II, p. 131.

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is induced to depict Trajan upon his return from Adiabene as "returning to the Euphrates where a flotilla had been assembled" and so marching southwards to Babylon.[1]

Now the Emperor's objective was Ctesiphon, on the Tigris' eastern bank, and he with his army was already east of the upper river, in the angle between it and the greater Zab. Yet he must be made to retrace his steps to the Euphrates somewhere, gather upon its waters a mysterious flotilla (unless his laborious wagons go creaking backwards again with the pontoon boats), and so fare south to Babylon, overshooting his mark by many a dusty mile.

How many miles to Babylon?
Threescore and ten?
Shall we get there by candle light?
Yes, and back again.

Moonshine were a more appropriate illumination for this picture of Trajan's march.

The Euphrates was the obvious route for an invader from the west. The luckless Gordian later came this way, as did that very second-rate soldier Julian. But the route from Nisibis and down the Tigris was equally familiar. Forty years after Trajan, Avidius Cassius penetrated this way to Ctesiphon with great success. To bring Trajan and his men back from Adiabene to the Euphrates and so to Ctesiphon via Babylon is an extravaganza which we can without surprise credit to Dio Cassius (or his monk), but *not* to the Roman general on the spot.

The hope to reconcile Dio's Babylon with possibility has led another modern into amazements more impossible because more precise. To him,[2] Trajan comes marching east of Tigris by Alexander's route to Arbela, and so down the Shatt el Adhain from Kirkuk by Mennis to Opis on the river. Here he crosses the Tigris to the right bank, marches by "Semiramis' entrenchment" thirty-seven kilometres to the Euphrates, where he picks up the fleet "which has descended the river from Phalga,"[3] and voyages happily down stream to Babylon.

How did the fleet get to Phalga? Whence came it?

[1] Stuart Jones, *Roman Empire*, p. 174.
[2] de la Berge, pp. 176–179.
[3] Phaliga (Kiepert).

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Opis is but sixty-five miles from Ctesiphon in a direct line, or over 100 by river. It lies on the same, the left, bank of the Tigris. From Opis to the nearest point on the Euphrates is eighty-five, not thirty-seven, kilometres. Babylon, whose ruins must of course attract the tourist-like inquisitiveness of a soldier on a campaign (yet a Trajan is not a Hadrian), lies forty miles due south of Ctesiphon. Back Trajan fares, according to the French writer, to the Royal Canal again and his engineers dig another canal, thirty stades long hence to the Tigris opposite Ctesiphon. In truth a rapid piece of military engineering to be fitted into the crowded list of events in this *annus mirabilis*!

Long ago a commentator of sagacity suggested that "as far as Babylonia" might be read in Dio's text in place of "Babylon."[1] Yet cling we never so pedantically as we like to Babylon in Dio's sorry text, the plea of common sense holds good. A Roman Emperor at the head of a large army does not march and countermarch, overshoot the mark and retrace his steps, conjure ships at will upon a river, dig canals through the plain, weave a fantastic trail like some dancing dervish on the mud flats of Mesopotamia in the summer months of a long campaign. Trajan moves down the Tigris from Adiabene, probably on the western bank. On the eastern there were more tributaries to be crossed. His flotilla, used earlier in the year to transport the army across Tigris' waters, accompanies the column down stream. So the Romans arrived at Ctesiphon.

On Trajan's approach Chosroes fled hurriedly eastwards, leaving his city, his daughter, and other treasure to fall into the conqueror's hands. Then indeed the Roman had earned his new triumphal title "Parthicus,"[2] and coins with the exulting legend "Parthia capta" began to circulate through an astonished Empire.

The enemy had vanished. The long road south lay open. Trajan sailed from Ctesiphon down stream, passing many a site of future renown, Kut el Amara, Ali Gharbi, Amara, Qurna, Basra, Muhammerah, and so to the very shores of the Persian Gulf itself. Here a local Sheik, ruler of "Mesene Island,"

[1] Tillemont, *ap.* Boissevain, *ad loc.*
[2] Possibly however taken in A.D. 115.

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perhaps Abadan Island, and of Charax Hyspasinis, lord of the district of the Shatt el Arab, paid him tribute and rescued him from the "violence of a storm and the surging tide of the ocean." As the grey-haired Roman stood upon the shore of the Gulf his eye lighted upon a dhow sailing down the Gulf for India. The name enticed him. Long since, Indian envoys had been his guests at Rome, and he had asked much of them concerning their land. So far now had he followed in Alexander's footsteps. "Surely," he cried with bitter longing, "I too would have fared across against the Indians, had I still been young."[1] The old soldier, sixty-three years of age, sorrowfully turned his back upon the waters of the Gulf and returned northwards again to Babylon, there to offer sacrifice to the dead Macedonian in the very house where, four and a half centuries earlier, he too had renounced all eastern conquests more.[2]

§ 6. *The breaking of the storm.*

"And yet," comments the Greek writer scornfully, "Trajan who, notwithstanding this, wrote to the Senate that he had penetrated farther even than Alexander, could not keep what he had conquered."[3] "Vain was their toil," he writes again, with quite uncustomary eloquence, "and all their striving vain."[4]

Was the Emperor seeking consolation for his return from the Persian Gulf in thoughts of distant Dacian forests? In fact, the Parthian might not be a more redoubtable opponent than the Persian. But Trajan's conquests, unlike Alexander's, might have seemed too easily won. The very lack of victory on the stricken field was no good omen. Almost within sight of his very army the natives rose. In the autumn of this same year, A.D. 116, Trajan at Babylon was busy fixing ferry dues for camels and horses over the Euphrates and the Tigris[5] when his thoughts were recalled to matters of graver import. Away in the north, where his thin line of garrisons kept watch and ward, the people

[1] Dio, LXVIII, 29. Eutropius' tale of Trajan's navy launched on the Red Sea to ravage India's borders (VIII, 3) is, I fear, constructed out of the lonely dhow sailing down the Persian Gulf out of Trajan's ken.

[2] Alexander died at Babylon, aged 32, in June, 323 B.C. [3] Dio, LXVIII, 29.

[4] Dio, LXVIII, 33: *μάτην ἐπόνησαν καὶ μάτην ἐκινδύνευσαν.*

[5] Fronto, ed. Naber, p. 202.

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on a sudden sprang to arms and fell upon the hapless Romans. Those who escaped from the forts fled over the desert with nothing left them but their lives. The larger strongholds, Edessa, Nisibis, even Seleucia opposite the old Roman frontier at Samosata,[1] were captured by the insurgents. And the reverberations of the storm began to echo ominously in more distant quarters of the Roman Empire.

The Emperor was sore beset. He was cut off from his base. One of his generals, Appius Maximus Santra, was slain "behind him" by a Persian Arbaces or Arbalatu,[2] "ad Balcia Tauri," somewhere perhaps near the Syrian frontier. Undismayed, Trajan acted promptly. Lusius Quietus, despatched at once to the rescue, did gallantly. Recapturing Nisibis, the Moorish cavalry leader moved westwards on Edessa, which he stormed, sacked, and burned. Two legionary legates, Sextus Erucius Clarus[3] and Tiberius Julius Alexander, were bidden march upon Seleucia. They took the place and destroyed it. By the end of the year the communications with the west were restored and the rising in northern Mesopotamia had been quelled.

Meanwhile Trajan, now once again at Ctesiphon, looking eastwards, saw a new storm rising from the heart of the Parthian Empire. The timorous fugitive monarch himself as yet ventured upon no desperate throw. But Chosroes' brother[4] Sanatruces and his own son Parthamaspates had collected an army and were threatening a joint onslaught on the Romans. It was time for diplomacy to be called in to redress the adverse military balance.

The resolution to which Trajan now came must have cost him wellnigh heart-breaking grief. But a Roman rarely shrank from looking facts squarely in the face. Armenia indeed and northern Mesopotamia he would still grimly hold for his own. But Lower Mesopotamia he could no longer retain. All he could hope to do was to give it into friendly keeping and safe-

[1] Quite obviously *not* the Seleucia opposite Ctesiphon.

[2] Fronto, *loc. cit.* Cf. Hauler, *Wien. Stud.* 38, 1916, p. 170; Loeb Library, Fronto, II, p. 215.

[3] A friend of Pliny: later consul under Hadrian and City Prefect under Pius.

[4] Or nephew. See note at end of chapter.

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guard thereby his frontiers from reprisals for all the wounds which he had inflicted upon the Parthian Monarchy. He sent to the younger Prince, Chosroes' son, and offered him the crown of Parthia were he willing to bring his army over to the Roman side.

Parthamaspates, "seduced" from loyalty to his father and his race, accepted the offer. He rode secretly into the Roman lines by night and clinched the bargain. His troops joined Trajan. The combined armies moved out of Ctesiphon and fell upon Sanatruces and his men. At last there was a battle. It was desperately fought, but the allies had the mastery. Sanatruces fled from the field, was pursued, taken, slain. Chosroes' exultant son claimed the prize of treachery. At Ctesiphon again, scene of so much of the agony and the pomp of war, the Roman Emperor placed the crown upon Parthamaspates' head amid a throng of Roman veteran troops and submissive Parthians. Other Parthian monarchs before him had accepted coronation at a Roman's hands. No single one of them had had lasting joy of it. Thereupon Trajan sent letters to his faithful Senate in far off Rome. "We do not," he wrote, "propose ourselves to administer this limitless land at an immeasurable distance from Rome. Let us bestow upon it a king subject to the Roman power." The bewildered Fathers made answer: "Let him do all things according as he pleased and thought best for Rome."[1]

Parthamaspates reigned as king in Ctesiphon. Trajan and all his Romans marched northwards up Tigris' bank for Singara, 300 miles away. Some sixty odd miles south of Singara there lay in the desert a famous little walled Arab city Hatra, el Hadr today,[2] "whose mighty works of fortification and magnificent buildings are still imposing in their ruins."[3] The men of Hatra closed their gates and defied the Emperor. The Roman assault miscarried. Though a breach was made in the walls, the cavalry launched against it were hurled back in disorder. Trajan himself, riding up within bowshot of the defence, was recognised. An arrow pierced the Staff officer at his side. The Emperor

[1] John Malalas, *Chron.*, ed. Dindorf, Bonn, 1831, p. 274.

[2] Cf. Platnauer, *Septimius Severus*, p. 119.

[3] Mommsen, *Provinces*, II, p. 69. Jovian on his retreat from Parthia in A.D. 363 found the place deserted.

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just escaped. Doubtless the city could have been taken. But it was now late summer. The sun, says the chronicler, was the town's protector. There was little water outside the walls, and that was brackish. In the encompassing desert neither fuel nor fodder was to be found. "Herbarum genera tristissima" alone rewarded the foragers.[1] Violent thunderstorms broke over the assailants and the hail lashed them furiously. Then too, the final stroke of Mesopotamian misery, "flies settled upon all that they ate and drank, and filled all things with wretchedness." The Romans were evacuating the land, and it seemed mere waste of time to tarry longer in siege of the fortress. Hatra was left with the glory of an untarnished defence.

Many years later, in two successive years, the city again defied triumphantly a Roman Emperor's assaults. When Septimius Severus, starkest of Rome's warrior Princes, saw his Syrians desperately repulsed, one of his Staff promised yet to take the town were he given 550 troops from Europe. "Whence shall I get so many soldiers?" replied Severus savagely, and abandoned the siege.[2]

Trajan's army marched northwards once again. The long campaign was ended. The Emperor returned to Antioch. "Principis ad triumphum decedentis haudquaquam secura nec incruenta regressio."[3]

Presently back came Chosroes to Ctesiphon and quietly evicted his traitor son.[4]

[1] Amm. Marcell. XXV, 8, 5, 6.

[2] A.D. 199–200. Dio, LXXV, 11, 12; Herodian, III, 9, 5. Cf. Platnauer, *op. cit.* pp. 118–121. Rostovtzeff, *Roman Empire*, p. 354, seems curiously wrong.

[3] Fronto, ed. Naber, p. 204.

[4] The wretched meagre evidence for all the story of Trajan's eastern campaigns has been cited from time to time in the notes. Practically the excerpts from Dio are our sole source of information. It is not without excuse, if with some lack of humour, that a modern Oxford scholar solemnly assures us that "Today we can trace the conquests of Subbi-luliuma the Hittite almost as fully as the eastern campaigns of Trajan" (M. N. Tod, *Greek International Arbitration*, p. 170). It seems hard to take such a name as the Hittite's as seriously as Trajan's.

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§ 7. *The Jewish massacres and the death of Trajan.*

It was the spring of A.D. 117. Trajan at Antioch once again dreamed his dream of eastern war. But never again was he to see the waters of the Tigris. He woke to find flames raging through the Empire and Rome piteously crying for her Emperor's return.

The destruction of the Temple at Jerusalem a generation earlier had embittered and not solved the problem of Jewish intractability. In their own homeland indeed, this fierce fanatical folk still, for a short while longer, lay quiet. The rebellion in Judaea and Hadrian's stern vengeance were yet to come. But the Diaspora in its chief homes, Mesopotamia, north Africa, Egypt, and Cyprus, was angry. A new generation had grown to manhood. While the Temple stood, at least the supremacy of his tribal Deity over some miles of barren hills might to some extent appease the Jew's hatred of the Gentile, the Roman, and, in yet more intensive measure, the Greek. Of that barren consolation the Jew had now been deprived. His "religious exasperation which had been glowing in secret like a volcano since the destruction of the Temple now broke out after an incalculable manner into flames of such a kind as the East has at all times produced and still produces."[1] Trajan's long absence in the East might seem to give that exasperation its opportunity. The like cause produced the same result eighty years later when during the Parthian campaign of Septimius Severus there occurred another Jewish outbreak.[2] Trajan for his part had given his Jewish subjects no other reason, whether by mishandling or by intolerance, for their sudden fury.

In A.D. 116 the Jews of the Diaspora, save those kept in awe by the army in Syria, fell upon the hapless Gentiles in whose midst they lived and traded. The story of the Jews' massacres, preserved to us in sources mainly anti-Jewish,[3] is revolting and almost incredible. Their barbarian forbears who swept down

[1] Mommsen, *Provinces*, II, p. 222.
[2] A.D. 200. Cf. Platnauer, *Sept. Sev.* pp. 121, 206.
[3] See note at end of section.

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upon the unlucky tribes of Canaan in the days of Joshua were no whit more savage than their descendants living in the golden age of Rome. A thousand years of civilisation had not changed their elemental passions. Two hundred years of Roman government had not taught them the primary lessons whether of mercy or of wisdom. With the cunning and the ferocity as of beasts of prey the worshippers of Jehovah offered hecatombs of tortured victims to their idol. In Egypt they ranged the country at will from Thebes to the very walls of Alexandria. Within those walls the fugitive prefect, M. Rutilius Lupus, held out stoutly, and the angry populace retaliated horribly, full measure for measure, upon any unwary Jew caught in the city. In the Roman province of Cyrene the insurgents, under a leader Andrew[1] or Luke,[2] crowned King of the Jews, laid waste settlement after settlement, torturing, mutilating, massacring their victims, Greeks and Romans alike, literally, we are assured, bathing in the blood of the slain, and devouring their flesh. Not far short of a quarter of a million perished.[1] Hadrian found the land almost empty, the peasants clean wiped away.[3] As the rebels' fathers had seen their own homeland become "a land of drought and of the shadow of death, a land that none passed through and where no man dwelt," even so would the sons deal with the lands that had given them harbourage. In Cyprus, with one Artemion to lead them, the Jews utterly destroyed the city of Salamis and all the inhabitants thereof. Another quarter of a million, it is said, perished upon this island.

First Trajan, and after him Hadrian, took signal vengeance upon the Jewish insurgents. Lusius Quietus was sent against the rebels in Mesopotamia with orders to "purge the province of the Jews." He defeated them in battle and slew them by thousands. The suppression of the revolt in Egypt and Africa was entrusted to Hadrian's friend, Quintus Marcius Turbo.[4] With horse, foot, and ships Turbo waged a stubborn campaign, details of which are wholly lacking, until at last he crushed the insurgents, slaying their leader. The Jews in Cyprus fared no better. Rabbinical tradition says that the sea from the mouths

[1] Dio. [2] Eusebius and others. [3] Orosius.
[4] For Turbo and Quietus, see also my *Hadrian*, pp. 43 and 46.

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of the Nile as far as the shores of the island was coloured red with the blood of the slain. And after the bitter work was done no Jew was allowed upon it on pain of instant death, even were he cast up shipwrecked on that fatal coast. For a quarter of a century lands in Egypt and Africa lay barren and unfruitful for very lack of cultivators.[1]

In all, a loss of life computed at not less than a million, horrors hard to parallel on any scale so great, vengeance as summary as even Rome herself could deal—the whole of the gruesome story is preserved in a few score of lines in late writers, whose bias, as Greeks or Christians, against the Jew may not unreasonably be urged.[2] The excuse avails us to dwell no longer upon this melancholy page in the history of Roman Judaism. Yet not even so had the Jew learnt the invincible might of Rome.

And now, in the summer of A.D. 117, other reasons besides that of Jewish disaffection called Trajan imperatively back to the Rome from which he had been absent so long. Hadrian's biographer presents a succinct and gloomy summary. Moors provocative, Sarmatians attacking, Britons defiant, Egypt seditious, Libya rebellious, Palestine insurgent,[3] to this pass had Trajan's eastern wars brought the Roman Empire. From the Atlantic to the Danube, from Yorkshire to the Nile, danger was threatening and the storm clouds brooded blackly on every distant horizon.

It was not reserved for the ageing Emperor to restore tranquillity. His health had been failing since the spring. He started to travel homewards from Antioch by the coast road through Cilicia. At Selinus, a tiny harbour town in the west of that province, he was struck down by paralysis. A complication of disorders well known to medical science sped the end. In the presence of the Empress Plotina, Trajan passed quietly to his rest, aged close on sixty-four years, upon the eighth of August, A.D. 117. Hadrian, his late adopted son and heir, reigned in his stead.[4] Of Trajan's consecration and the other honours justly paid his memory, of his "Triumph" and the magnificence

[1] Rostovtzeff, *Roman Empire*, note 48, p. 578.
[2] For the evidence see note at end of this section.
[3] Spartianus, *Vit. Hadr.* 5, 2.
[4] For this, see my *Hadrian*, pp. 34–37.

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of his burial amid sorrowing crowds in Rome I have written elsewhere.[1] *Stat nominis gloria.*

NOTE TO § 7: *The evidence for the Jewish outbreaks.*

The ancient "authorities" are: Dio, LXVIII, 32; Spartianus, *Vit. Hadr.* 5, 2 and 8; an allusion in Appian, *Bell. Civ.* II, 90, and a fragment published *ap. Rev. Archéologique*, 1869; Orosius, VII, 12; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* IV, 2; Georg. Syncellus, *Chron.* p. 657 (ed. Bonn); Jerome, *ap.* Eusebius, *Chron.* (ed. Schoene), II, p. 165.

There are also papyrus fragments telling of a debate in Trajan's presence between Jewish and Greek envoys concerning the responsibility for the outbreak in Egypt. These show that in Alexandria itself at least the Greeks may well have given some provocation to the Jews of that city, having, it seems, dragged some of the latter from prison and lynched them. The offenders however had been duly punished, some sixty being banished and their unlucky slaves executed. Their orators' apologia is more amusing than convincing. As the Jew said, they were probably mere liars. The whole affair in Alexandria seems to have been somewhat trivial, and, as Wilcken, the editor of the fragments, says, "Jew outbreaks and Jew hunts in the Alexandria of the Empire were every-day affairs" (H. Wilcken, *ap. Hermes*, XXVII, pp. 464–480; XXX, pp. 481–485). It is a sorry freak of chance which gives us these fragments of quite respectable length, while of the serious troubles elsewhere we are told so little and by such tainted evidence.

Any historical event in which Jews are concerned calls forth a vast stream of modern description, discussion, bibliographical plurality of riches. Little is added to the known facts thereby. The standard works of e.g. E. Schurer (*Gesch. des jüd. Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, Leipzig, 1890) and H. Graetz (*History of the Jews*, English translation, London, 1891) deal at considerable length with these Jewish outbreaks under Trajan and the later Jewish war under Hadrian. (For the latter see my *Hadrian*, pp. 211–221.) There is also an account in de la Berge, *Trajan*, pp. 182–184. I do not follow his chronology.

The date of the beginnings of the outbreak is uncertain. Intrinsically A.D. 116 seems preferable to A.D. 115, though the latter seems to be Eusebius' date, at least for the first symptoms of trouble.

[1] See my *Hadrian*, pp. 43–44. My sketch of these closing scenes in Trajan's life in "A Better Country" (*Beyond the Might of Rome*) may please younger readers.

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§ 8. *Trajan: service and disservice to the Empire.*

That Trajan's nineteen years of rule were a happy time for all the inhabitants of the Roman Empire, so far as Government affects happiness, is certain. The distant wars on and beyond remote frontiers troubled the folk sheltered by the far-flung ramparts of defence not at all. Theirs was security, and, with security, prosperity and contentment. No burden of compulsory military service, no shortage of the food supply, no internal class quarrels or dissensions marred their enjoyment or diminished their satisfaction.

At home, Domitian's "reign of terror" was over. The upper classes lived joyous lives free from apprehension, the lower endured no lack of entertainment. Trajan's care for all men was untiring. His devotion to the welfare of Rome and of Italy, to the building of public works, to the improvement of communications, to agriculture and the maintenance of children, never flagged. He was accessible and friendly to all men. His bonhomie and his fearlessness were rewarded by the enthusiastic affection of his friends and the unwavering loyalty of all classes. His military exploits flattered the pride, his civil administration satisfied the needs of the entire population of the Empire. Justice was impartially administered. Wrongdoing by governors and officials, the little of this that could be discovered, was sternly checked. Taxation was light. The Emperor's wise superintendence penetrated every corner of his dominions. Trajan's rule was absolutism at its best, because it was instinct with the traditions of Roman democracy and inspired by sagacity and an unfailing sense of public duty. Cynical pens took holiday from their malignant labours even in the years after the Emperor's death. The ecclesiastical historian of early Christianity himself is disposed less to attack the letter of the law against Christians on the observance of which Trajan insisted than to praise the mildness of the spirit in which the Emperor wished the law administered. Even the victorious Church of a later age grudgingly allowed one single common act of Imperial justice to save the soul of Trajan, alone among pagan Emperors, from the undying flames of hell.[1] The mass of his own people

[1] See above, p. 179.

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hastened to claim heaven for him as his right. No Roman Emperor since Augustus' day had better earned his deification. On none was the crowning honour bestowed with more unanimous goodwill and genuine approbation. "Per orbem terrarum deo proxumus nihil non venerationis meruit et vivus et mortuus."[1]

Therefore modern criticism has fastened upon the one chapter in Trajan's career which alone affords a griphold. The annexation of Dacia seems to meet with common approval. But the Emperor's eastern wars and policy have led to a charge against him of "megalomania" and this appears with wearisome iteration in text-book after text-book.[2] The ambition and the conquests of the youthful Macedonian hero are still allowed to shine with dazzling lustre. But, lest the bored schoolboy be corrupted, the like passion for glory in a Roman soldier twice Alexander's age is permitted but a dingy glitter at the best. Megalomania! Let the English boy, heir to his grandsires' victories, take warning.

The criticism is reinforced by the pleasant story of the puzzled Senators of Rome, striving in vain to keep abreast of the facts as their Emperor's vainglorious bulletins from the seat of war come raining in upon them, for such magniloquence stands self-condemned even in a Bonaparte.[3] It is but too sadly strengthened by the modern world's experience. Who today will defend the insensate ambition of the would-be world-conqueror? Who will say a word for militant Caesarism? The great soldier of the Roman Republic as he stood on Euphrates' bank scornfully refused the Oriental's claim that Rome should admit any limit

[1] Eutropius, VIII, 4.

[2] In the general chorus of disapproval Von Domaszewski strikes a discordant note. The valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates, he urges, belong essentially to Mediterranean civilisation, and the Parthians themselves were really intruders into a land where Greek culture flourished in such cities as Seleucia, Edessa, Nisibis. Trajan therefore was instigated, *not* by any dream of posing as a second Alexander, but by the reasonable desire "to consummate the slowly growing unity of Semitic-Greek culture" (*Gesch. der röm. Kaiser*, II, p. 182).

The Roman Trajan an enthusiast for Semitic-Greek culture!! But German aspirations in the patronage of Turkey in Asia (in 1909) must have their literary-spiritual apologists.

[3] Dio, LXVIII, 29.

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to stay her advance. If it was in this same spirit that two centuries later Trajan crossed the river, who now dares exculpate the Roman? Mere defence, the urgent stress of security, could scarcely warrant such vast annexations beyond Euphrates' bounds. Later Emperors advanced the eagles to the Tigris and have escaped reproach. Trajan the pioneer is gravely chided.

A more subtle reproach condemns him for consequences hidden from his eyes. The Roman Empire was presently to be rent in twain. An overweight on the eastern side was to overbalance the delicately adjusted equipoise between east and west. Far Oriental lands made subject were to find their spiritual home (until Mahomet came) in Byzantium rather than in alien Rome. Augustus long ago had had some inkling of the peril. Actium had saved the unity of the Empire, which the lure of the East might yet again imperil. A Trajan can maintain, a Constantine or Theodosius can regain, sole power over all the lands of Rome. So great a task is beyond the strength of feebler men.

It was not for Trajan to admit this or to envisage the menace of so remote a future. Rome in his day was at the very height of power and glory. The new eastern frontier which he drew might seem imposed upon him by the insolent provocation of the Parthian to the Empire. In itself that frontier was sound, even though "Assyria" might seem too huge a "bridge-head" beyond the Tigris. If later Emperors traced a serviceable frontier, of which strategical science could approve, midway between the Tigris and Euphrates and guarded by the weary desert on the south, they had the enjoyment of Trajan's experience to guide them and the help of that wider geographical knowledge which was one fruit of his campaigns. He himself would not rest at Nisibis or Singara until he had tested the possibility of a greater effort.

That effort was in fact beyond the strength of Rome, as his successor Hadrian very clearly saw. Rome's standing army, perhaps half a million men, was not large enough to guard the whole long circuit of desert, ocean, and river frontier if so great an eastwards extension was added. Armenia, Mesopotamia, "Parthia," "Assyria," these would not supply the additional troops required. The requisite numbers for a frontier defence

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force set to guard a circuit of ten thousand miles obviously depend upon their mobility. For short distances across the desert or through untracked wilds a Roman army of old days might move as swiftly as could any European force until the coming of motor and aeroplane. But the problem was one of concentration at greater distances to guard some threatened spot. A British Division could be moved from Flanders to Basra, a Turkish from Gallipoli to Samarrah and Bagdad, in no longer time than it took Trajan's Romans to march from Antioch to Nisibis. The army of the Lower Danube might serve as the reserve to an outpost line upon the Euphrates. The Tigris was too far a cry beyond. And how if peril called again for reinforcements upon the Pannonian front?

Under such a strain the Imperial Roman system of voluntary recruiting might break down at any moment. The drain of men and of money upon the resources of the entire Empire occasioned by Trajan's wars was terrifying. "Trajan was too busy and too much occupied with his military enterprises to realise fully that his expeditions were bringing the Empire to the verge of ruin.... The cities of Italy and the provinces were unable to bear the cost of the fresh series of wars which seemed inevitable." So, "when Trajan died, the position of the Empire was extremely critical," and it might seem but a poor consolation for imminent bankruptcy that Trajan's victories had so overawed Parthia that the lonely city of Palmyra in her oasis among the deserts could now enter undismayed upon her upward path to prosperity and fame.[1]

Those same victories of Trajan, and those only, gave his successor Hadrian the chance to conclude an honourable (if a costly) peace. But even though Peace should spread her sheltering wings perpetually over the Empire on north, south, east, and west—and who would guarantee her lasting stay in any single quarter?—the finances of the State cried their warning. There was little prospect of compensating revenue to be derived from Trajan's eastern annexations. Rome had but a sorry Eldorado in Mesopotamia's plains. Ultimately it was not so much any timorousness on the part of the Roman War Office

[1] Cf. Rostovtzeff, *Roman Empire*, pp. 309–315, 324–325, and 147.

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as it was the wise caution of the Roman Treasury which allowed the lasting independence of Persia and Bokhara, of Bohemia and Saxony, of Caithness and Ireland. To Hadrian, soldier, statesman, and financier, Trajan seemed to have flung the Empire so far eastwards that it was likely to vanish completely out of sight. How long a time was needed for a dispatch from Ctesiphon to reach the Palatine? On cold consideration, it was not worth while to tax the Romans in life-blood or in money that they might for it feed their imagination yet more richly upon the glories of their Empire.

Such chill prudence as this of Hadrian had never gained for Republican Rome her mastery of the world. But the world had changed its aspect. There was an Empire now for guarding, not for gaining. And what savage attacks were not threatened from out the unknown depths of Europe and over Asiatic steppes?

Moreover Rome was no longer a Republic, and a real political danger therefore reinforced the arguments from military and financial stress. Whatever the nature of the Central Government, distance was bound to add to the perplexities of administration in every generation of mankind before our own. But Roman Imperial Absolutism suffered peculiar disadvantages from which a hopeful Republican Government might be expected to be free. Generals of equal merit and of unswerving loyalty to the State might go warring at the same time, one on Atlantic shores, another on Mesopotamian sands, one amid the icy defiles of Caucasus, another among the soft dreaming hills of Wales, had the Republic so long endured. That its death-blow was dealt it by the greatest of Rome's soldiers might seem but the sorriest of misadventures. Caesar's great rival had at least been faithful to the Republic, and Pharsalia's issue had turned upon a hair. The Empire had come, and with it how great a change! The Prince might be required at the same moment at Carlisle and Ctesiphon, at Cologne and Assuan. He had need of the wings of the morning and to dwell in the uttermost parts of the western sea. And in his long absence from Rome it must needs befall that the machinery of administration, however perfect its workmanship, began presently to jerk and fret.

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Hadrian made his resolution swiftly. Of all Trajan's conquests east and south of the Euphrates he retained Arabia Petraea only under the direct government of Rome.[1] The immediate circumstances upon his accession in A.D. 117 were very different from those of four years earlier. In this later year the Roman Empire stood undisguisedly in bitter need of peace. The abandonment of a forward policy in the far east was but the first step towards the remaking of a troubled world. Hadrian's tacit condemnation of Trajan's eastern adventure is that of the best qualified contemporary critic, and from such judgments we are taught to apprehend that there must be no appeal.

Yet—megalomania? The word rings falsely. Neither Greek nor Roman knew it. Vaunting pride and overweening cruelty, self-seeking and vainglorious insolence, these concomitants to military despotism both peoples long since knew and looked for God's vengeance upon the despot. But to strive greatly after the impossible, such a frenzy earned as little condemnation from Roman as from Elizabethan thought. It was the striving won as great applause as ever the end sought. Trajan's were no

> dreams
> Which are the children of an idle brain,
> Begot of nothing but vain fantasy.

Neither in turning from Dacia to the Tigris was he inconstant as

> the wind, who woos
> Even now the frozen bosom of the north,
> And, being angered, puffs away from thence,
> Turning his face to the dew-dropping south.

In north as in east Trajan's were no vain dreams of greatness but hard stark deeds of war and victory.

The calmer judgment must range itself on Hadrian's side. The perverse admiration of man goes out to Trajan. Truly the world peace finds always its chief foe in that natural passion for adventure and for glory which lurks somewhere deep in the heart of every civilised man. Had not Sulla, had not Pompey,

[1] Cf. my *Hadrian*, pp. 57–58. This book continues my history of the Roman Empire after Trajan's death.

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raided the trembling Armenian and Parthian in their lairs? Was the greatest of Rome's soldier Emperors to fall short of Republican achievements?

> O noble English! that could entertain
> With half their forces the full pride of France,
> And let another half stand laughing by,
> All out of work and cold for action.
> Awake remembrance of these valiant dead,
> And with your puissant arms renew their feats.

NOTE: *The princes of Parthia.*

The relationships of the princes of Parthia at this time are in a state of sore confusion in our miserable ancient evidence. John Malalas, deriving from Arrian and for that reason only of some value, calls Sanatruces "King of the Persians," and Parthamaspates his nephew and the son of Osroes. Chosroes is thus brother of Sanatruces. (Sanatruces, "Sanatrak," Armenian monarch of Edessa in ecclesiastical story—cf. above, p. 313—is clearly another person.) This Sanatruces becomes a king of Armenia with a son Vologeses, according to Boissevain's rearrangement of Dio Cassius. Dio (*ap.* B. LXVIII, 30, 3) has a passage which Ursinus, editor, A.D. 1582, of the Vatican MS. places in the reign of Septimius Severus (Dio, LXXV, 9, 6 therefore). "When Vologeses, son of Sanatruces," it runs, "was in arms against Severus and his men, but asked for and obtained a truce before battle, he sent envoys to him and, as the price of peace, bestowed part of Armenia upon him." From the order of the Ursinian excerpts Boissevain (*ap. Hermes*, XXV, 1890, pp. 329–339) argues that "he" is Trajan, and "Severus" is not the later Emperor but a general of Trajan's eastern wars, perhaps the Catilius Severus whom Hadrian leaves as governor of Syria on his own return from the East in A.D. 117. Vologeses son of Sanatruces thus obtains part of Armenia from Trajan as a client prince and Hadrian ratifies the arrangement. Platnauer (*Septim. Severus*, p. 118, note) accepts Boissevain as "conclusive" without ado.

But Malalas has another long story (pp. 269–270) of a capture of Antioch by the "Persians" before Trajan's arrival in A.D. 113. His authority is the worthless Domninus Chronographus, supposed to be a Bishop of Antioch in the sixth century of our era. Out of his "confused coil of legends" Mommsen despairs of obtaining any certain facts (*Provinces*, II, p. 69). Domninus produces a new "King of the Persians" in one Meerdates. His son is Sanatruces who succeeds his father as king of the Persians and takes Antioch.

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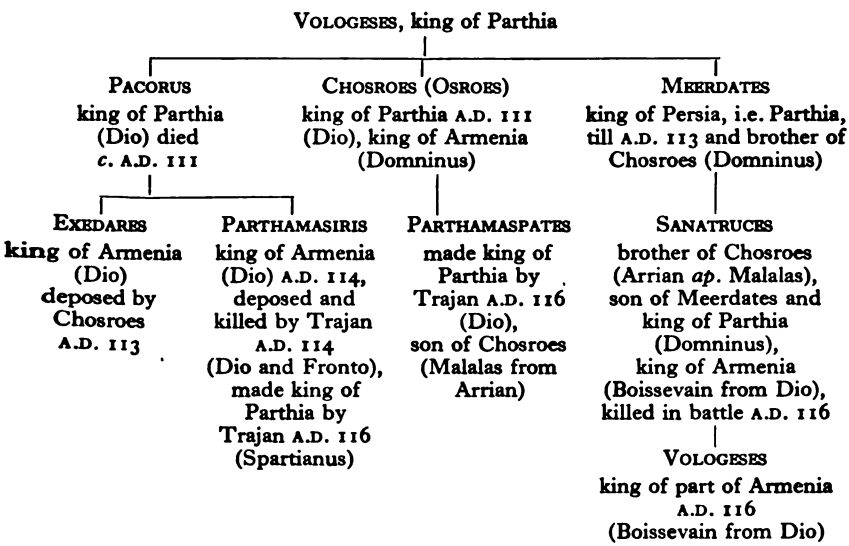
"Osdroes" is brother of Meerdates and is himself king of Armenia. His son is Parthamaspates.

That a bewildered Spartianus in his biography of Hadrian turns Parthamaspates into Parthamasiris, and, finding "Osroes" king of Parthia, makes Hadrian appoint Parthamasiris as king to "neighbouring peoples" with a studied vagueness, elicits under the circumstances our sympathy, if not our agreement.

The following table may help to make the variants clear:


VOLOGESES, king of Parthia
PACORUS
king of Parthia (Dio) died c. A.D. 111
CHOSROES (OSROES)
king of Parthia A.D. 111 (Dio), king of Armenia (Domninus)
MEERDATES
king of Persia, i.e. Parthia, till A.D. 113 and brother of Chosroes (Domninus)
EXEDARES
king of Armenia (Dio) deposed by Chosroes A.D. 113
PARTHAMASIRIS
king of Armenia (Dio) A.D. 114, deposed and killed by Trajan A.D. 114 (Dio and Fronto), made king of Parthia by Trajan A.D. 116 (Spartianus)
PARTHAMASPATES
made king of Parthia by Trajan A.D. 116 (Dio), son of Chosroes (Malalas from Arrian)
SANATRUCES
brother of Chosroes (Arrian ap. Malalas), son of Meerdates and king of Parthia (Domninus), king of Armenia (Boissevain from Dio), killed in battle A.D. 116
VOLOGESES
king of part of Armenia A.D. 116 (Boissevain from Dio)

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